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SAVE SOLOMON MAHLANGU

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Radio Tanzania —
External Service (Dar es Salaam)
on 15435 khz 19 metre band on short wave,
9680 khz 31 metre band short wave,
Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, at 8.15 p.m.
SA time
Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, at 6.15
a.m. SA time
Sundays at 8.45 p.m. SA time.

Luanda Radio —
40 and 30 metre bands on short wave
27.6 metre band on medium wave.
7.30 p.m. SA time
Lusaka —
31 and 49 metre bands on short wave
6.10 p.m. SA time.

Cover: Solomon Mahlangu:

The fight is on to save the life of Solomon Mahlangu (22) from the gallows. His mother, Mrs Martha Mahlangu, visits him every week in the death cell and says he is impatiently waiting for the mercy application.

AFTER HAVANA

Recently the youth and students from all over the world converged on Havana to participate in the 11th World Youth and Students Festival. This was an historic gathering. At this Festival the problems of Southern Africa featured prominently. This Festival took place at a crucial time in the history of our struggle when the youth and students' movement in our country is coming closer to the positions of the ANC.

What then are the tasks and responsibilities of our youth?

Our struggle is waged on many fronts. One of these battle fronts is the struggle to win the minds of our people; to inspire them with our revolutionary ideas — ideas which become a material force when they capture the masses. The youth and students cannot remain passive in this life and death struggle. They need to improve and perfect their structures and where none exist to create new ones. This is only possible if we all contribute to this task so that the ANC remains a revolutionary vanguard which subordinates the interests of its members to the common cause; a vanguard which fights against any form of factionalism and creation of cliques and

groups; a vanguard which completely eradicates laziness, irresponsibility and misbehaviour — in short, a people's movement. How does the youth achieve this?

The ANC is in the process of creating revolutionaries. Our revolution needs a new man; a man who is physically and psychologically prepared to face the war situation in which we find ourselves; a student who studies in order to place himself at the disposal of our movement when he/she finishes. We need young people who are loyal to our movement and its leadership; dedicated young revolutionaries whose convictions about the correctness of our policy and justness of our cause cannot be doubted. We need humble revolutionaries who do not despise their comrades; revolutionaries who love our working people and are prepared to fight side by side with them.

Our goal is seizure of power through armed struggle and our weapons are guns and pens. Organisation is the key to success.

It is the task of the ANC Youth and Student's Section to develop these qualities and the declarations and decisions of the World Youth Festival in Havana will help our youth to launch a political and ideological offensive in this direction.



O.R. Tambo with Raul Castro

THE CUBAN FESTIVAL

On the 28th of July 1978, at 5.30 pm a 11 gun salute signaled the opening of the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students. The progressive youth of the world marched through the streets of Havana, Cuba cheered by thousands of Cuban people. The 158 delegations proceeded towards the Great Latin American Stadium to the Opening Ceremony.

As each delegation entered the stadium, they were met with cheers and slogans of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship. The delegations from the Socialist countries and in particular the Soviet Union, received the most rousing welcome. Honour was accorded to those nations marching for the first time as free peoples: The youth of Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau felt the impact of solidarity and respect for their historic achievements. The revolutionaries of Latin America, particularly Chile and Nicaragua, of the Plo and Polasario were given a tumultuous welcome. For those marching under the flags of the Southern African liberation movements, SWAPO, Patriotic Front and the ANC of South Africa, the response of the comrades was a concrete expression of anti-imperialist solidarity and support for our just struggle.

The Cuban delegation, last to enter the stadium was greeted with chants of "Fidel, Fidel, Cuba!" This was followed by the Cuban national anthem, sung by a 2000 voice choir. Then came the solemn moment as the youth of the German Democratic Republic presented the host country with the Festival Flag.

On behalf of the Cuban Party and people, Comrade Raul Castro spoke about the anti-imperialist struggle of the world's peace-loving forces for a better future for

Movement, started 30 years ago by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, has been steadily consolidated with the passing of time. "Havana, Cuba, wholeheartedly offers each of you another home", he declared.

Then came the gymnastics in which over 16000 Cuban men, women and children participated. Each successive scene, a marvel of movement and colour was positive proof of the earnestness, dedication, legitimate pride and satisfaction of the Cuban people, in welcoming the youth of the world to their Island of Freedom.

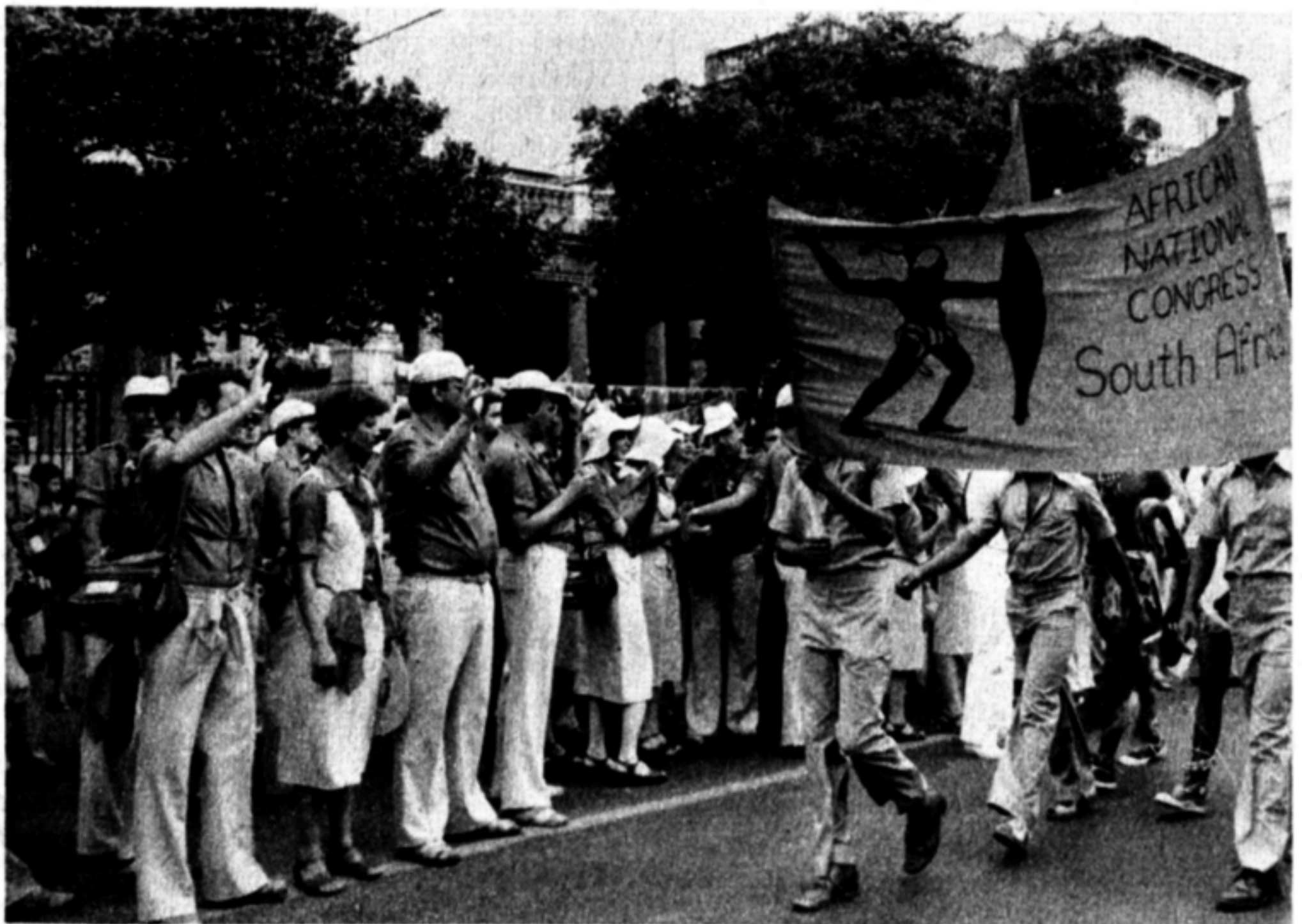
In all there were 1,200 official activities on the Festival Programme. Each day was dedicated to solidarity with the different sections of the world's youth: those struggling for national liberation, against fascism, with the democratic youth of the capitalist world and with the youth helping to build socialism in their own countries.

One major focus of activities was the Tribunal — Youth Accuses Imperialism — in which delegations gave solemn evidence of the crimes of imperialism against their peoples. The Tribunal condemned imperialism for resorting to terror, repression and fascism against the oppressed and exploited peoples. Imperialism's hypocritical defense of "human rights" was vigorously attacked and exposed at all sessions of the Tribunal. The nature and depth of analysis presented by the Tribunal and the dramatic testimony of many witnesses added substantial weight to the political content of the Festival. Its final document concluded: "We do not doubt, even for a moment, that our cause will triumph, because it is a noble and a just cause espoused by the overwhelming majority of humanity."

Commissions were in session in five



The ANC delegation enters the stadium



They are welcomed by the world youth

different centres throughout the Festival. Their themes covered world disarmament the building of a new world economic order, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, facism, zionism and apartheid and the struggle of the youth of the capitalist countries against exploitation and for the defence and development of democratic forces. The 123 strong ANC delegation played an active part in all these deliberations. The lesson which emerged clearly from all commissions and meetings was the need for ever-greater solidarity and cooperation between the worlds anti-imperialist forces.

The ANC delegation was strengthened in all its activities by the presence of Comrade O.R. Tambo, who was a guest of honour at the Festival. In an inspiring speech to our delegation, he outlined our responsibilities as representatives of our



Fidel Castro addresses a rally

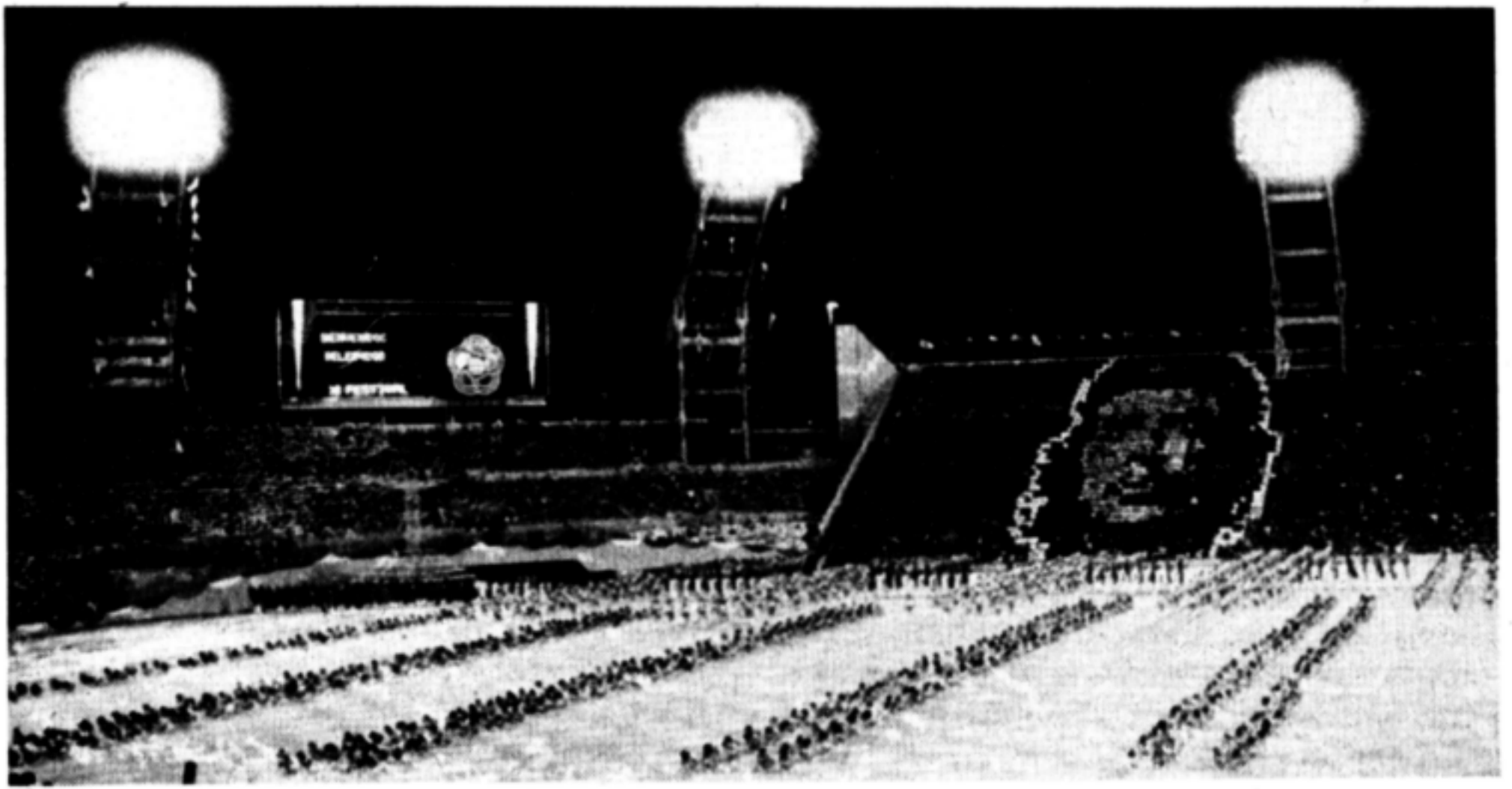
people at this historic event. He also stressed our special relationship with Revolutionary Cuba. The deep links of internationalist solidarity were reinforced throughout the Festival and were symbolised in the fraternal mutual respect and cooperation between Comrades Castro and Tambo.

One of the ways in which anti-imperialist solidarity was concretely manifested was through the bi-lateral meetings between various delegations. For the ANC youth and their comrades, friends and supporters worldwide, the Festival provided a great opportunity for exchanging experiences and making new contacts. Meetings were held with delegations from the Socialist Western Europe, the United States, Latin America, Canada, Asia and Africa as well as with international organisations. Through these meetings, the basis was laid for strengthening the vital area of solidarity work.

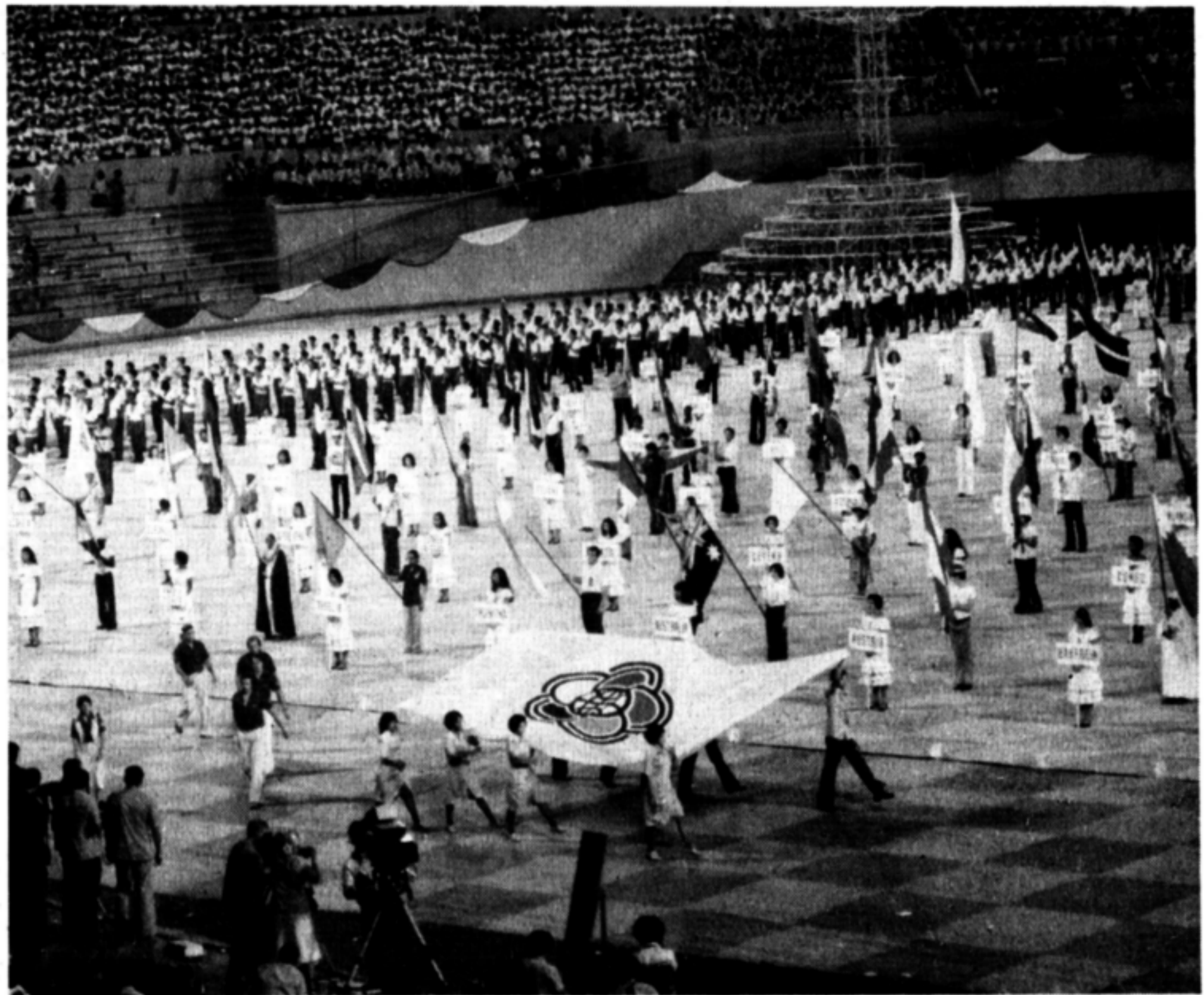
The cultural wing was a great source of strength to the ANC delegation. Our contribution included freedom songs, traditional dancing, music, gum boot dancing, poetry reading and drama. The ANC gave a gala performance for the Cuban people which was enthusiastically received. We also performed for Comrades Castro and Tambo. In the field of solidarity work with other delegations, the cultural wing played a major role. All forms of artistic expression presented, carried the revolutionary message of our people reflecting the truth that the people's revolutionary art and culture have become a powerful weapon in the struggle.

The struggle in Southern Africa was given great prominence during the Festival. The importance of our fight for freedom in South Africa and the respect shown to the ANC was underlined at the closing ceremony when our movement gave the speech of thanks to our hosts on behalf of all the delegations.

The work of the Festival proved a profound political education for our cadres. It provided us with a deeper understanding of our own struggle and of the anti-imperialist struggle as a whole. Revolutionary Cuba itself taught us many lessons. The warmth and truly internationalist spirit of the Cuban people were a source of inspiration and strength to each one of us.



11th World Youth and Students Festival



The Opening Ceremony

By choosing Socialist Cuba as the host country of the Festival, the progressive youth of the world affirmed their confidence in and solidarity with the internationalist homeland of Marti, Castro and Guevara. Delegates were able to witness and learn from the educational, social, economic and cultural achievements of the Cuban revolution. They had the opportunity to meet and exchange views with the Federation of Cuban Women and the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution. The heroic Cuban people were proud to make available their best institutions; hotels, schools, colleges, transport, cultural, social and sporting facilities. They made Cuba our home and anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship a reality.

One memorable occasion was the invitation to all delegations to visit the people of Havana in their homes. These 'street parties' were organised by the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution and the Federation of Cuban Women. Amongst the

Cuban comrades we met, were veterans of the Second War of Liberation in Angola, who proudly recounted their role in the defeat of the South African racist forces. One elderly Cuban revolutionary expressed the feelings of his people when he told ANC delegates: "We are prepared to shed our blood for the liberation of Africa!" The crowded street was filled with shouts and slogans in acknowledgement of this testimony to Cuba's internationalist principles. Here we had the opportunity to express our people's deep feelings of solidarity and friendship with the Cuban people.

Another important event during the Festival was the renaming of Cuba's "Robben Island". The Isle of Pines was the deportation centre and 'model prison' for the revolutionaries of Cuba throughout the different stages of their struggle. In recognition of the role of Cuban youth in building their society, the island was renamed "Island of the Youth". The ceremony, attended by members of all



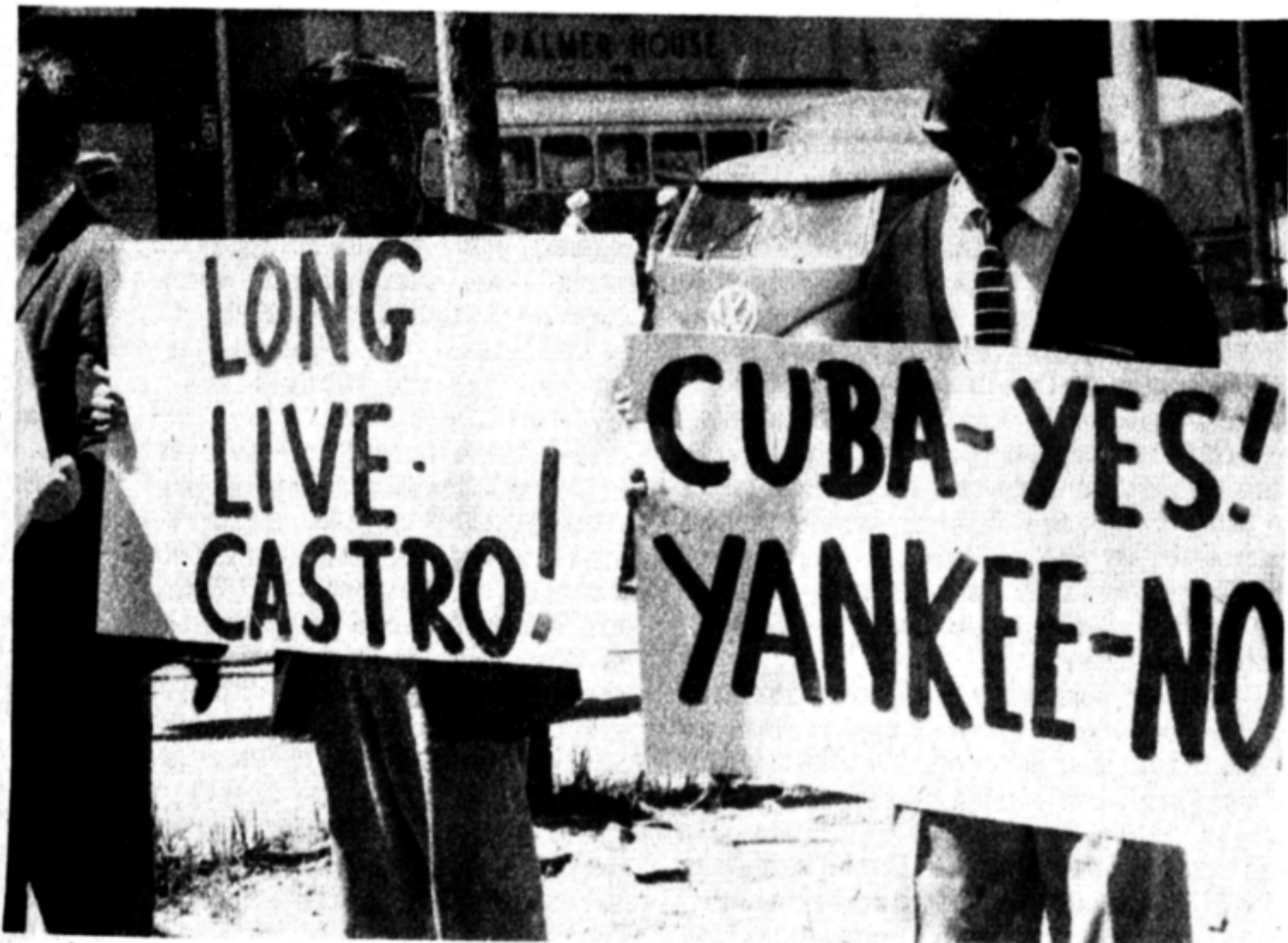
Eddie Funde (ANC) addresses the closing ceremony on behalf of participants

delegations and presided over by Fidel Castro, took place in the grounds of the former prison — now an historical monument . The Island represents in miniture the achievements of the Cuban Revolution. The workers and youth have built up a steadily expanding and viable economy; we saw the 40 or more schools recently built in which students combine their studies with productive labour. The Island also reflects Cuba's internationalism: hundreds of young MPLA and Frelimo cadres, as well as children from other African countries are attending schools there. In the words of Comrade Tambo, "The Island to us was another seat for the planting of a new generation committed to the service of mankind."

The 11th World Festival was an historic achievement. The bringing together of such a broad representation of the world's youth on a platform of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship, points to the growing

strength of the world's progressive forces. The smooth running of the Festival activities was a testament to the achievements of Cuba and of the Socialist world as a whole. For the revolutionary youth of South Africa, our greatest lesson was to witness in Cuba, the strength and dignity of a truly non-racial democratic society, free of all exploitation. This lesson reinforced our belief in the correctness of the policies and programme of our movement and strengthened our resolve to continue the struggle until victory. We understood the meaning of Comrade Castro's words when he said:

"Our struggle was the eternal struggle of all oppressed peoples, our enemies were and are the same enemies; our victories are the victories of all progressive mankind today and tomorrow."



Demonstration in Durban 1962

TAMBO ADDRESSES WORLD PRESS

The Youth Festival provided a powerful platform for leaders of the world's progressive forces. Delegates were privileged to meet and learn from leaders like Yasser Arafat, Joshua Nkomo, Corvalan, Sam Nujoma, Oliver Tambo and many others.

The press gathered in force in Havana to cover the Festival. Some journalists came to report the reality of Cuba and the Festival. Others, were determined at any cost, to engage in anti-Cuban propaganda at the service of imperialism. Thus for differing motives, journalists were most eager to interview the liberation movement leaders, to raise the burning issues of the conflict in Southern Africa and the role of Cuba and other socialist countries in the struggle.

At a packed press conference held in the Havana Libre Centre, O.R. Tambo, President of the ANC of South Africa, met with all sections of the world press. "Cuba is an expression of anti-imperialism in its normal life today!" With these words, Comrade Tambo underlined our people's admiration for the great strides that have been made in the course of Cuba's socialist revolution. The celebrations to mark the 25th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks were a sharp reminder of what it had taken to bring about the Festival, which Tambo described as the gathering together of thousands "on a theme which has become one of dominating importance to mankind—anti-imperialism."

With the orchestrated attacks on Cuba by the imperialist powers and their mass media, O.R. Tambo took the opportunity to set the record straight as regards Cuba's role in Africa. Those who are clamouring and screaming about the Cuban presence in Africa, do not understand the meaning of national oppression, exploitation and fascism, he asserted. This had been Cuba's experience before the revolution. The

Cuban people are feared by the racists and their allies because of their "commitment to liberation...their readiness to die in that struggle if they are called upon to do so." Tambo described the anti-Cuba campaign as "an amazing expression of contempt for African independence." The imperialist powers arrogantly assume the right to choose Africa's friends for her.

The consolidation of the links between the world's progressive forces is of vital importance to the unfolding struggle in the sub-continent. Comrade Tambo made this clear when he said, "We invite socialist Cuba to take profound interest in the developments in Southern Africa." It is the duty of South African revolutionaries and of Africa as a whole to defend Cuba, "a great friend of Africa."

O.R. Tambo reiterated the ANC's call for the complete isolation of the fascist regime. The Rhodesian sanctions debacle proves that although the western powers may be forced to verbally support UN action against the minority regimes, they will not "go out of their way to subvert their own interests." He warned that imperialism's frantic activity over Namibian and Zimbabwean independence "is not a disinterested involvement...it is to protect their interests in Southern Africa." A call was made to the peoples of Western Europe and North America to attack their government's role in Southern Africa, "the isolation of Smith and South Africa should include a direct assault on their partners."

South Africa will remain a threat to world peace until the victory of Peoples Power. Tambo alerted the world to continued fascist aggression by South Africa. He identified the regime of terror as "in one sense an agent of imperialism and in another the vanguard of racism and fascism which seeks to perpetuate the old system



President Tambo addresses press conference

of colonial domination.” Ultimately the campaign for the complete isolation of the apartheid state must go hand in hand “with massive support for the African National Congress.” The ANC President made an urgent appeal for recognition of the role of the Front Line and neighbouring states, and for substantial aid to be given to them to counter South Africa’s imperialist aggression.

South Africa’s attempts to escape her increasing isolation have led the regime to seek new allies. The alliances made with Latin American fascist states, and imperialist moves to create a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation, should be seen in this light. O.R. Tambo called on the Latin American peoples to fight against this community of interests between the fascist powers and forge stronger links with our national liberation movement.

The atmosphere and level of discussion at the press conference, reflected the truth

that the struggle in Southern Africa has reached a crucial stage. With the prospect of victory for the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, a warning was given against relaxation of international action against the apartheid regime. Tambo warned that imperialism would encourage this attitude in an effort to isolate the South African revolution.

The Festival itself was a profound achievement for the world’s anti-imperialist forces. Comrade Tambo declared that it was his firm belief that on leaving Cuba, the youth would be “carrying with them the inspiration of this country and the determination to join forces with our fighters against imperialism and for national liberation, social emancipation, peace and friendship.”

APARTHEID IN CRISIS

CURRENT NEWS AND COMMENT FROM
APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

THE MURDER OF TABALAZA

The murder of Steve Biko in South Africa on September 12 last year shook the whole world. Two months later we heard that Bonaventura Siphon Malaza, an 18-year-old school boy was also murdered; then two days later it was Mbulelo Rocky James: he was "shot while escaping" from custody.

His body was found by township residents in Lingelihle the following day.

In December 1977, Mzukisi Nobhadula was the next victim, and in March 1978 an unnamed 16-year-old youth from Mdantsane became the fiftieth victim of police torture since 1963. He was admitted to Frere Hospital at East London in the Cape — where he died — with extensive bruises on his chest; a paralysed right arm, septic ulcers on both legs and the soles of his feet were burnt off.

Anti-Riot Police

On July 10, 1978, Lungile Tabalaza was alleged to have plunged to his death from the fifth floor of the Security Police Headquarters in Port Elizabeth.

Who is Lungile Tabalaza?

Lungile Tabalaza, 19, was a third form student at Masibambane Junior Secondary School, Kwazakhele in Port Elizabeth. He was one of the 474 black pupils arrested while holding a meeting in the St. Stephens church hall in New Brighton last year.

After spending some time in detention, all those held were found not guilty of holding an "illegal" gathering when the case went to court.

On July 10, Lungile, together with a

17-year-old boy known only by the name of Mabalana, was picked up by uniformed anti-riot police in New Brighton.

His elder brother Mzimkhulu reported that he saw Lungile locked up in the back of a police van and was later transferred to another police van. That was at about 8 a.m. and he died at 3 p.m.

Son's Death

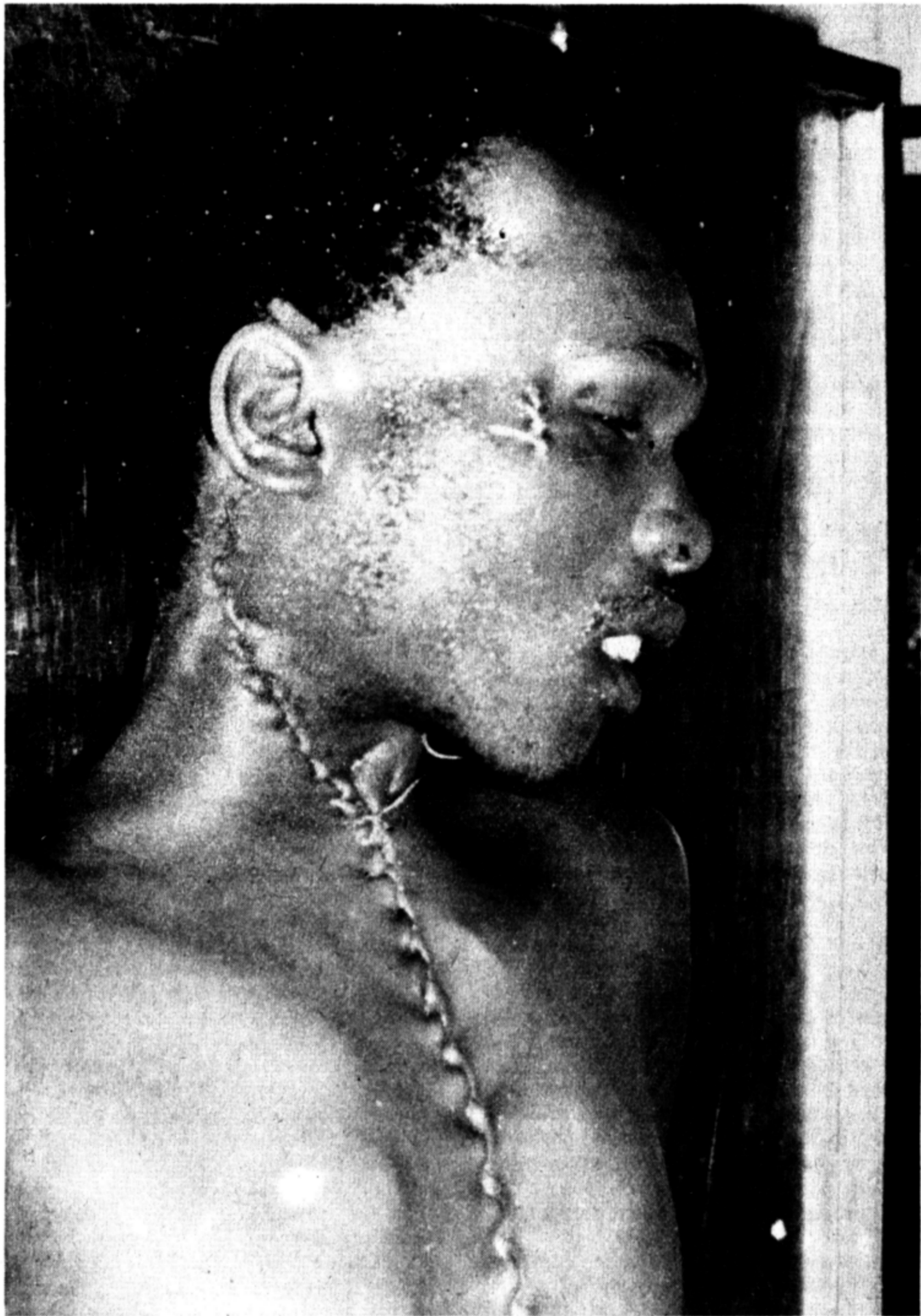
Lungile's father, Mr. Gana Nazo — he has taken his grandmother's name although the family's surname is Tabalaza — said he was only informed about the death of his son on Tuesday at 9.30 a.m. (about 18 hours after his death).

Lungile Tabalaza was arrested in connection with petrol bomb and arson allegations. He had not been arrested under Section Six of the Terrorism Act, but in terms of the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Act, and that meant he ought to have been formally charged within the statutory 48-hour period.

After his arrest Tabalaza was handed over to the members of the Security Police for further investigation. The question arises, why was Tabalaza — who at no stage was detained in a cell — handed over to the Security Police?

Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of Police, has given instructions through Gen. Mike Geldenhuys, the Commissioner of Police, to * transfer Colonel Goosen to another area as from August 1;

* transfer Major P.R. de Jough from the Port Elizabeth Security Police to the CID



Lungile Tabalaza: murdered by Security Police

in another area as from August 1;

* transfer immediately Sergeant P.J. Nel from the Security Police to the CID.

This "shake up" was followed by the creation of a new post to check on the administrative and executive affairs of the Security Branch throughout the country.

The whole question is treated lightly as if it is a question of "irregularities", negligence, or the failure to obey instructions. But the problem lies in the system itself; the administration and existence of the detention laws which allow authorities to detain without trial and interrogate people beyond the protection of the judiciary.

The police in South Africa are a law unto themselves.

Guilty

The transfer itself showed that the Minister of Police, Kruger, accepted that the three policemen were guilty. Indeed General Geldenhuys admitted that: "It would appear from the report that strict police instructions regarding the safety of detainees may not, in this (Tabalaza) case have been strictly adhered to."

Why does he talk only of this case? Lungile Tabalaza is the third person, to die in police custody in Port Elizabeth in the last two years.

In fact Colonel Goosen was the central figure in the Steve Biko case. Kruger admitted in parliament that in 1977 a total of 128 people other than those held under security laws had "died in detention" and ten people, including Steve Biko, had "died in detention" under security laws.

The transfers are in themselves no punishment: the three policemen can do the same thing elsewhere. All that the transfers mean is that other districts and departments will have the benefit of these unrepentant interrogator's attentions and services.

This becomes obvious when one considers that the state withdrew a charge of armed robbery against Lungile Tabalaza who died a week before.

Lungile died six hours after his arrest.

Gana Nazo, his father, went to the police mortuary to identify his son's body. He said "I was given no details why my son was arrested and how he jumped through the window. All I was told was that the police had been looking for him for some time."

The funeral took place at Lungile's home in Msimka Street and at the old Apostolic Church in Nikiwe Street, New Brighton.

The police released the body on the day of the funeral after two post mortems had been held. The father learnt of the first post mortem only from the newspapers and did not hear about the result.

THE SSRC TRIAL

A cursory glance at the South African newspapers shows that many political trials are now taking place in the country. In Port Elizabeth, East London, Cape Town, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Bloemfontein, Pretoria and Johannesburg trials of ANC militants and "Black Consciousness" leaders, organisers and supporters are taking place.

One of these trials is in connection with 11 former leaders and members of the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC). The accused are:

Wilson Welile Chief Twala, 18, of 1367 A Emdeni South, Soweto; Daniel Sechaba Sediane Montsitsi, 23 of 4771, Zone 4, Diepkloof, Soweto; Seth Sandile Mazibuko, 19, of 1806 Orlando East, Soweto; Mafison Morobe, 22, of 4594 Orlando East, Soweto; Jefferson Khotso Wansi Lengane, 21, of 2018 Moletsane, Soweto; Susan Sibongile Mthembu, 22, of 2291

Zola South, Soweto; Ernest Edwin Thabo Ndabeni, 21, of 663 Mofolo North, Soweto; Kennedy Kgosietsile Mogani, 19, of 2074 Moletsane, Soweto; Reginald Teboho Mngomezulu, 21, of 1122 B Emdeni South, Soweto; Michael Sello Khiba, 20, of 9038 B Orlando West, Soweto; George Nkosinati Yami Twala, 23, of 2905 Rockville, P.O. Moroko, Soweto.

These ten young men and a woman have been detained for more than a year and a half. They appeared briefly in the magistrate's court in July and again in September wearing their school uniforms



and singing freedom songs. They gave the clenched fist salute.

The 56 page indictment alleges that: As officers, members and supporters of the SSRC, they "conspired" to commit "sedition" and "terrorism" between May 1976 and October 1977;

They took part in a series of meetings — 29 of them — at which they are said to have planned the June 16, 1976 uprisings against the use of Afrikaans as a teaching medium in Soweto schools and against the system of Apartheid as a whole;

Called for protest marches and rallies to keep Blacks away from their work; Demonstrated how to make petrol bombs;

Planned demonstrations against the visit to South Africa by Dr. Kissinger, the former American Secretary of State;

Organised memorial demonstrations on the first anniversary of the Soweto uprisings.

The maximum penalty for these charges is a death penalty alternatively life imprisonment. They have pleaded not guilty to the charges.

The ANC calls on all progressive people throughout the world to protest and save the lives of SSRC Eleven.

RUSTENBURG REPORT

The following statement was issued by the National Executive Committee of the ANC on the 11th of August 1978.

At 14 hours August 1, 1978, a small detachment unit of the gallant sons and daughters of South Africa, Umkhonto We Sizwe — the military wing of the African 13



The defiant youth

National Congress was forced into combat engagement with large contingents of the South African Defence Forces in the Rustenburg area, Western Transvaal.

The battle which lasted for over 4 hours till dusk demonstrated the absolute superiority of our forces in tactical skill, valour, marksmanship, morale, discipline and political maturity.

Umkhonto We Sizwe wiped out ten racist soldiers and injured many. One M.K. cadre was captured.

The sudden mowing down of the ten, scattered the rest of the boers into panic until large re-inforcements including Bophuthatswana Homeland National Guard Forces in French Super Frelon Helicopters were sent in. Special quick evacuation ambulances were also rushed in to remove the dead and injured enemy bodies.

The enemy then initiated an intensive terrorist campaign against the ANC guerrillas and the local population:

Ceaseless and aimless gunfire from low-flying helicopters ploughed the area. They sprayed the battlefield with chemicals, Napalm, Defoliant and Teargas from canisters.

Loudspeakers from helicopters all along the area spread enemy propaganda

that the gallant sons and daughters of Umkhonto We Sizwe they were engaged in battle were in fact no fighters for the liberation of the people in South Africa but ritual murderers to be hunted out and destroyed.

In these moving battles against the forces of the enemy of the people in our country, the M.K. militants restraintfully spared the lives of the Bophuthatswana National Guard Forces who were obviously used as Kalashnikov or scorpion fodder by the racist enemy.

According to our sources inside the country it is reported that at dusk our heroic fighters broke off from enemy encirclement and engagement.

The days of the Vorster regime are numbered.

Avenge the fallen heroes of Soweto, Gugulethu, New Brighton and in other battlefields!

**AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
MAATLA KE A RONA!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**



A family home

THE FATE OF CROSSROADS

In July 1978 a non-racial crowd of between 4,000 and 5,000 people gathered in a 2½ hour prayer service for the preservation of the Crossroads emergency camp. This was more than just a display of solidarity. But this did not help, because on Friday September 15 1978, it was reported that about 600 police stormed Crossroads squatter camp after firing teargas cannisters. Two Africans were shot dead and a baby was crushed to death as scores of people were fleeing from being beaten by the police and hundreds were arrested in a pre-dawn raid on the Crossroads squatter camp.

It is not the first time that such squatter camps have been raided and bulldozed. Last year and the beginning of this year we witnessed the demolition of Modderdam, Werkgenot and Unibell squatters in Cape Town. The bulldozers continued flattening

shanties which housed 25,000 people; hundreds of people streamed from the camps to the surrounding African townships while other were being forcibly returned to 'places of origin' at the cost of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and the Administration Board. Now, the racist government is moving towards its biggest confrontation with the squatters of Cape Town and the battlefield is Crossroads, a squatter camp near D.F. Malan airport.

Crossroads

With 3,000 shacks housing about 20,000 people, Crossroads is a slum area just outside Cape Town. The residents are resourceful; they have managed to establish a thriving, viable and productive community; there is

a rubbish and bucket collecting team and a mobile clinic to help the sick and refer cases to nearby hospitals; two primary school buildings and teachers who are paid by the community; there are also shoe-repairers, mechanics and shops; home industries have developed. The community centre was built by residents and opened in November, 1977; it has a hall; four classrooms, a soup kitchen and an office; day and night literacy classes are conducted; adult classes at night for junior certificate and some matric subjects. There are various committees which cater for the people's needs and their welfare.

Racist Ideology

The white racist ideologues maintain that the Cape peninsula is a Coloured labour 'preference area' and according to the Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Connie Mulder and his deputy, Dr Willie Vosloo, the Africans have historically never had any claim to the area.

The historical facts disprove this racist myth. Africans were living and working in Cape Town as early as the 1830's and by the beginning of this century there were 10,000 Africans in Cape Town. It is said that Africans have no right to be in Cape Town while new arrivals from Britain, West Germany, Greece, Portugal and racists from Rhodesia and the former Portuguese colonies or elsewhere have full rights.

Labour statistics of the Cape Peninsula Board show that in the period 1968-74, employment of African contract workers — as they are called — in four sectors increased by nearly 200 per cent with Government services increasing their labour requirement from 1,447 to 6,123, that is by 323 percent in this period. In the Government sector (including the Railways and Post Office) where presumably the racist policy of 'Coloured labour preference' was enforced, the number of contract labourers has more than quadrupled — a trend in conflict with race policy. Even allowing for the recession since 1974 it is a fact that in 1977 the number of contract workers in Cape Town



The future belongs to them

was double what it had been when the policy of moving Africans out of the Western Cape was first applied in 1966.

When the Deputy Minister of Plural Relations said that the removal of the Crossroads community from Cape Town is necessary to protect Africans already in the city, he 'forgot' that people living in Crossroads are not newcomers: the average household head there has been living in Cape Town for an average of more than 18 years and his wife for an average of 11 years.

These men work in Cape Town: both the state and private firms need their labour but because of racist ideology, the Government is now threatening to destroy their homes and to drive their wives and children to the reserves, where they are likely to suffer more. This is done despite the fact that the welfare of Cape Town has been built upon the labour of the African peoples.



Read before you enter

What is behind all this? Is the racist regime caught in a conflict between economic needs and ideological demands of apartheid? Or is it the question of the implementation of the Verwoerdian vision of the early 60's of a commonwealth of 'politically independent', 'economically viable' ethnic states or homelands — the Bantustans?

The Curse of Migratory Labour

The migratory labour system which is one of the pillars of apartheid demands that the two goals that is, economic needs and ideological demands of apartheid, be taken together. They in turn require that the Africans should be in two places at once — in the Bantustans, where they should reside separately and far from the Whites and in the cities where they should work for the Whites. The way out of this problem, as far

as the racists are concerned, is that Africans may take jobs in 'white South Africa' (as opposed to the Bantustans) only if they are prepared to do so without having their families with them — the so-called unnecessary appendages. This means that legal recognition was given to Africans who:

- a) were born within the area
- b) have worked for ten years or
- c) have worked for one employer continuously for not less than 15 years

These qualifications are not to be extended to their families. On the contrary, the sorrow of the African seems to be unending: the Expropriation Act for Africans which falls under the Bantu Resettlement Act of 1954, does not take into account the escalation of the value of property and inflation. There is also the Homelands Constitution Act which, among other things, provides for children born in the urban areas who are to be given the citizenship of their respective homelands.

The Act stipulates that children born in urban areas are to be first South Africans and then citizens of their respective homelands. Recently, Connie Mulder, the Minister for Plural Relations in a characteristic fascist manner, stated that in the 'foreseeable future', when Bantustans are 'independent', 'there will be no black South Africans.' They will all be citizens of their 'independent homelands' and will lose their South African citizenship on the day their homelands become 'independent'. In other words this means:

- a) All African workers will become migrant workers; none will be allowed family dwellings and all dependents will be required to live in the homelands:
- b) Since Africans are not allowed to own land or lease houses in 'white South Africa', their children will not be allowed to inherit the land or houses of their parents who have had the right to own land or lease houses.
- c) Africans will not be able to travel abroad for the simple reason that Bantustans are not recognised as 'independent countries' internationally.

The Cape Peninsula

The plight of the people of Crossroads signifies the plight of black people throughout the country: men and women who had lived together for years are separated and told to go to the hostels while their houses are bulldozed indiscriminately. Such men were issued with single permits instead of a common permit so as to maintain them as single people for ever.

The police and Bantu Affairs Administration Board officials usually set up roadblocks before dawn each day to check identity documents of residents as they leave for work; even people with identity documents had been arrested; everyone leaving the camp during the operations was arrested. One Crossroads camp woman stated: "We could not get water and pregnant women could not get doctors."

These roadblocks and other acts of harassment are meant to terrorise the residents who are legally allowed in Cape Town, but could not find accommodation in the townships: many others are there because while the husband is legally allowed as a migrant worker, his wife is not. Some come from other squatter camps, others from District Six or single hostels. From time to time since May 1975, women have been arrested usually to be charged with being in the area for more than 72 hours without a permit; the men, if they are legally in Cape Town, are usually charged with 'harbouring their wives'. The authorities sometimes put the wives on trains destined for Transkei and Ciskei but many get off at the first station and return to squat at Crossroads or elsewhere: back with their husbands.

Why is this particularly visible in Cape Town? The policy of 'influx control' is applied throughout South Africa but in Cape Town it has been particularly visible.

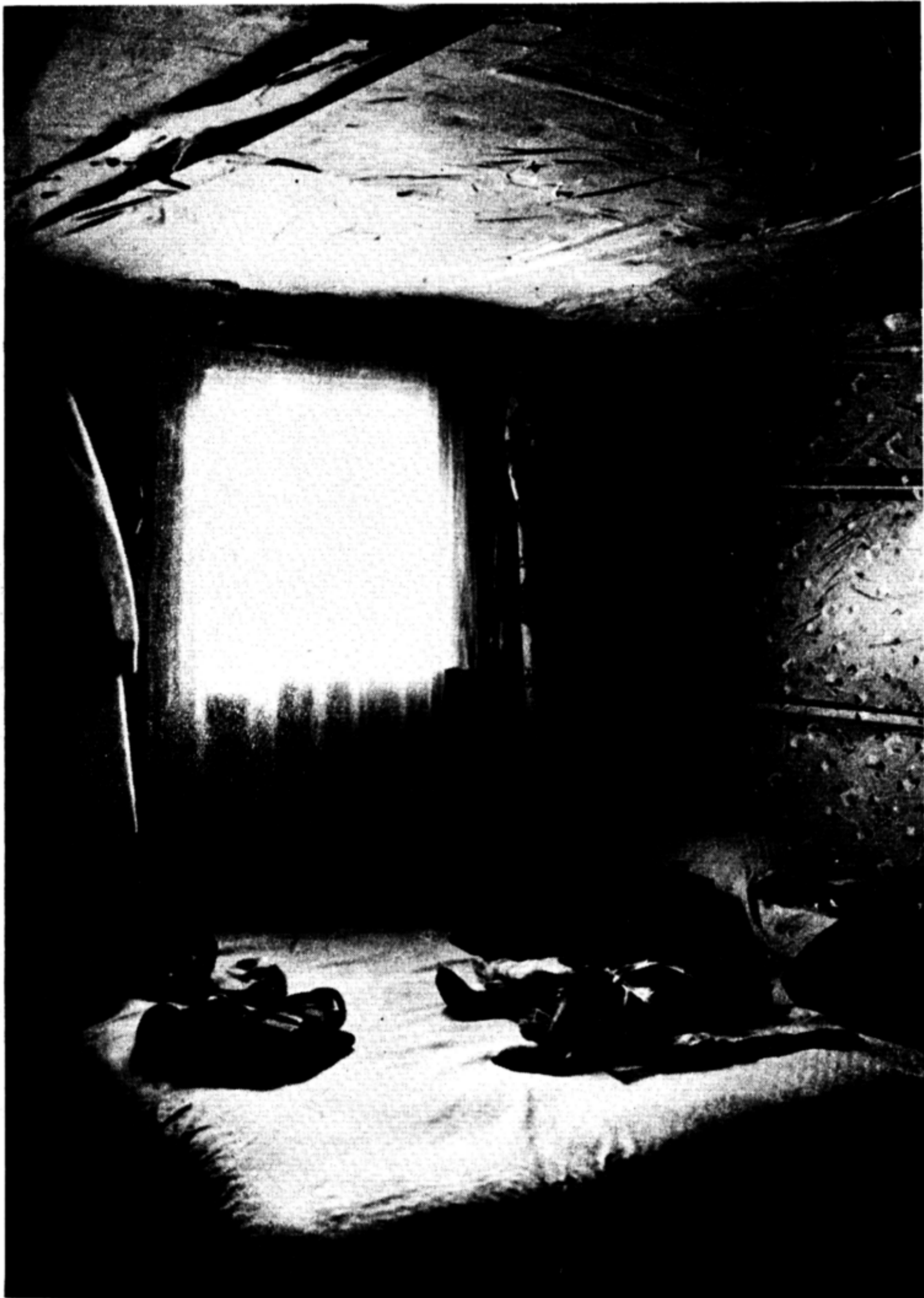
First is the geopolitical factor. Cities like Johannesburg, Durban, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth or East London are close to one homeland or another so that the flow of 'illegal' work seekers often goes undetected by Bantu Administration authorities: 'detection' usually means 'endorsement out'

of the city to the nearest homeland. But Cape Town is 800 miles from the Ciskeian or Transkeian homelands which usually supply nearly all African labour.

The second point is the 'ethnic' composition of Cape Town where Coloureds outnumber Africans by far — in all other South African cities Africans are the majority. This policy of 'limiting and reducing African influx' in Cape Town led the racists to attempt to create economic and political counter-attractions in the homelands and border industrial areas.

In 1967 the racist government declared its intention to 'halt and ultimately reverse' the flow of Africans to the Western Cape which was declared a 'preferential labour area' for Coloured people. Employers could only engage African labour if they could prove that 'suitable' Coloured labour was not available. New labour regulations were enacted to stop African 'influx', the effect of which was to preclude Africans, who did not already qualify in 1966, from acquiring permanent residence qualifications. The total ban on the recruitment of migrant workers employed on a contract basis from Ciskei and Transkei became effective in September, 1966. As from August 1, 1967 contracts with migrant African workers were limited to 12 months and at the end of each contract period the worker was required to return to his homeland before a new contract could be entered into.

But it must be stated that in this period African 'influx' was not resisted in the interests of 'rapid economic growth' but the racist government made sure that Africans would not make themselves comfortable in Cape Town by putting a virtual freeze on African housing. In Langa township no family housing had been built since 1955; in Nyanga since 1962 and at Gugulethu since 1972. It is estimated that about 10,000 African families in Cape Town enjoyed permanent residence so that 'natural population growth' alone should have caused a demand for about 2,700 family houses in the period 1967-76; but only 330 were built. No wonder people built themselves corrugated iron houses in



People's homes in Crossroads



Crossroads: The plight of the people

Modderdam, Werkgenot, Unibell and Crossroads.

In 1972-74 squatting became noticeable and squatter camps consisted of legal residents squeezed out of the three recognised African townships (Langa, Nyanga and Gugulthu) because no housing was available. These were joined by thousands of contract/migrant workers who sent for their wives and children.

The transfer in 1971 of administration from local authorities in Greater Cape Town to the Bantu Affairs Administration, a government agency controlled by the Ministry of Plural Relations was a turning point. The 1977 amendment to the Prevention of Illegal Squatters Act declared all squatting to be illegal if no 'legal right or title', is obtained. This provision effectively removes squatter's access to a court of law, an action to which many successfully resorted in 1974-76. Many could not afford to go to court or take their case for arbitration.

This is one case which denies the African workers the right to live with their families at the place where they are legally employed. The racist government chose to

ignore the 'influx' to the city when African labour was needed but now that recession in industry and construction have resulted in at least 6,000 contract labourers losing their jobs, Africans 'must go home'.

Tamatievlei and Kromdraai

The question of squatters is not confined to the Western Cape alone. All the major cities of South Africa suffer from this problem. Let us take Tamatievlei as an example. This slum in Johannesburg's Kliptown has been described as a 'place of shame'. It is a Coloured slum area. Its inhabitants, about 15,000 Coloureds and Africans, face hazards of a rising river, swarms of insects, a variety of diseases and crimes of violence. The inhabitants are victims of apartheid and its sociological consequences. It is reported that 60 families live in 62 rooms: a total of about 290 people. A survey carried out last year in October by social workers of the Good Shepard Community Services, discovered that 20 families were forced to have bucket toilets in their rooms, because heavy rains had washed their outside toilets into the

river. Many families have one meal a day and 6 to 8 people sleep on one bed — two adults and 4 to 6 young ones. These unbearable conditions have injected a sense of degregation and hopelessness in some circles within the community but on the other hand — and this is the most encouraging sign — the inhabitants retain their self-respect and have replaced their attitude of reluctant acceptance by one of anger.

There is also the case of Kromdraai near Thaba’Nchu. In May 1978 it was reported that 300 people were arrested in kromdraai on charges of illegal squatting and sentenced by a Bophuthatswana court after being held in a South African jail. They were charged under Proclamation R188 of 1969, an anti-squatters regulation, and were fined R80 or 80 days — R40 or 40 days of which were suspended. “Those who couldn’t pay the fine are being held in Bloemfontein prison because we have a problem accomadating them”, said a Bophuthatswana spokesman.

The agreement between the prison authorities of South Africa and Bophuthatswana of November 15, 1977 provides for ‘the admission and detention in the

Republic of South Africa of any person sentenced by a competent court of Bophuthatswana.” The promised assistance — in terms of another agreement of the same date — includes help in the expropriation of landowners who are not Tswana citizens and who refuse to cooperate in resettlement projects and who do not wish to remain in Bophuthatswana.

The actual problem is that Thaba’Nchu, an isolated piece of the Bantustan in the Free State, has since 1974 been a source of tension between the closely related Tswana and Sotho people. In Thaba’Nchu the Basotho outnumber the Batswana and this has caused some tension between the Bophuthatswana and Qwaqwa Bantustans.

The Bantustans and other instruments of the apartheid system such as the Group Areas Act are responsible for the plight of our people. Places like Crossroads in the Cape could mean crossroads for the South African racist regime and we shall determine which road shall be followed.



20,000 people live here



Nelson Mandela: The people's leader

LETTER FROM MANDELA

Text of a letter addressed to the Ministry of Justice, Cape Town from Nelson Mandela, Robben Island Prison, dated 22,4,1969:

Dear Sir,

My colleagues have requested me to write and ask you to release us from prison and, pending your decision on the matter, to accord us the treatment due to political

**“We demanded a democratic South Africa free
from the evils of colour oppression...”**

prisoners. At the outset we wish to point out that in making this application we are not pleading for mercy but are exercising the inherent right of all people incarcerated for their political beliefs.

The persons whose names appear in schedule A attached to this letter live in the Single Cell Section of Robben Island Prison and are completely isolated from the rest of the prisoners on the Island. For this reason we are unable to furnish you with a full list of all the persons on this Island and in other prisons on behalf of whom this application is made.

Prior to our conviction and imprisonment we were members of well known political organisations which fought against political and racial persecution, and which demanded full political rights for the African, Coloured and Indian people of this country. We completely rejected as we still do, all forms of white domination, and more particularly the policy of separate development, and demanded a democratic South Africa free from the evils of colour oppression, and where all South Africans, regardless of race or belief, would live together in peace and harmony on a basis of equality.

All of us, without exception, were convicted and sentenced for political activities which we embarked upon as part and parcel of our struggle to win for our people the right of self-determination, acknowledged throughout the civilised world as the inalienable birthright of all human beings. These activities were inspired by the desire to resist racial policies and unjust laws which violate the principle of human rights and fundamental freedoms that forms the foundation of democratic government.

In the past the governments of South Africa have treated persons found guilty of offences of this nature as political offenders who were released from prison, in some cases, long before their sentences expired. In this connection we refer you to the cases of Generals Christiaan De Wet, J.C.C. Kemp and others who were charged with high treason arising out of the 1914

Rebellion. Their case was in every respect more serious than ours. 12,000 rebels took to arms and there were no less than 322 casualties. Towns were occupied and considerable damage caused to government installations, while claims for damage to private property amounted to R500,000. These acts of violence were committed by white men who enjoyed full political rights, who belonged to political parties that were legal, who had newspapers that could publicise their views. They were able to move freely up and down the country espousing their cause and rallying support for their ideas. They had no justification whatsoever for resorting to violence. The leader of the Orange Free State rebels, De Wet, was sentenced to 6 years imprisonment plus a fine of R4,000. Kemp received a sentence of 7 years and a fine of R2,000. The rest were given comparatively lighter sentences.

In spite of the gravity of their offences, De Wet was released within 6 months of his conviction and sentence, and the rest within a year. This event occurred a little more than half a century ago, yet the Government of the day showed much less intransigence in its treatment of this category of prisoner than the present Government seems prepared to do 54 years later with black politicians who have even more justification to resort to violence than the 1914 rebels. This Government has persistently spurned our aspirations, suppressed our political organisations and imposed severe restrictions on known activists and field workers.

It has caused hardship and disruption of family life by throwing into prison hundreds of otherwise innocent people. Finally it has instituted a reign of terror unprecedented in the history of the country and closed all channels of constitutional struggle. In such a situation resort to violence was the inevitable alternative of freedom fighters who had the courage of their convictions. No men of principle and integrity could have done otherwise. To have folded arms would

have been an act of surrender to a Government of minority rule and a betrayal of our cause. World history in general, and that of South Africa in particular, teaches that resort to violence may in certain cases be perfectly legitimate.

In releasing the rebels soon after their convictions the Botha-Smuts Government acknowledged this vital fact. We firmly believe that our case is no less different, and we accordingly ask you to make this privilege available to us. As indicated above, there were 322 casualties in the Rebellion. By way of contrast, we draw attention to the fact that in committing acts of sabotage we took special precautions to avoid loss of life, a fact which was expressly acknowledged by both the trial Judge and the prosecution in the Rivonia Case.

An examination of the attached schedule shows that if we use De Wet's case as the standard, then every one of us ought to have been released by now. Of the 23 persons whose names are listed therein, 8 are doing life imprisonment, 10 are serving sentences ranging from 10 to 20 years, and 5 between 2 and 10 years.

Of those doing imprisonment for life 7 have completed 4 years 10 months, and one has done 4 years and 4 months. The man with the longest sentence amongst those serving terms between 10 and 20 years is Billy Nair who has already completed a quarter of his sentence. Joe Gqabi, Samson Fadana and Andrew Masondo, the first to be convicted in this group have each completed 6 years of their respective sentences of 12, 8 and 13 years. The last

men to be sentenced in the same group were Jackson Fuzile and Johannes Dangala who received 12 and 7 years respectively. Fuzile has completed a quarter of his sentence whereas Dangala will have done exactly half of his on 19th May 1969. Every one of those serving terms between 2 and 10 years has at least completed a quarter of his sentence.

Our claim for release becomes even stronger when examined in relation to the cases of Robey Leibrandt, Holm, Pienaar Strauss and others. Leibrandt, a national of the Union of South Africa, arrived in the Union from Germany at a time when that country was at war with the Union. He then proceeded to set up a para-military underground organisation with the purpose of overthrowing the Government and establishing in its place one modelled on that of Nazi Germany. He was found guilty of high treason and sentenced to death, later commuted to imprisonment for life. Holm, Pienaar and Strauss were also imprisoned for high treason, it being alleged that they collaborated with the enemy in prosecuting the war against the Union and its allies. On coming to power, however the present Government released these and other prisoners sentenced for treason and sabotage, notwithstanding the fact that they had been arrested in circumstances which made them appear to many South Africans as traitors to their own country. Again by way of contrast, we draw attention to the fact that our activities were at all times actuated by the noblest ideals that men can cherish, namely, the desire to serve our people in their just struggle to free them-



Even under arrest they shout "Amandla"

“our activities were actuated by the noblest ideals
...to serve our people in the just struggle..”



ANC students in GDR demand release of Mandela

selves from a Government founded on injustice and inequality.

We further wish to remind you that in 1966 your predecessors released Spike de Keller, Stephany Kemp, Alan Brooks and Tony True, all of whom originally appeared jointly with Edward Joseph Daniels (whose names appear in the schedule) on a charge of Sabotage. Kemp, Brooks and True pleaded guilty to an alternative charge, and a separation of trial was ordered. The case against Daniels and De Keller proceeded on the main charge and on the 17th November 1964 they were found guilty and sentenced to 15 and 10 years respectively. Kemp, Brooks and True were found guilty on the alternative and sentenced 5, 4 and 4 years respectively, each of which was partly suspended. We are informed that De Keller was released after he had served approximately 2 years, or less, of his sentence of 10 years, whilst Kemp, Brooks and True were also released before they had

completed their sentences.

We do not in any way begrudge those who were fortunate enough to be released and who escape the hardship of prison life and are happy to know that they now lead a normal life. But we refer to their case for the limited purpose of showing that our request is reasonable, and also to stress that a Government is expected to be consistent in its policy and to accord the same treatment to its citizens.

There is one important difference between our case and that of De Wet and Leibrandt. They were released only after the rebellion had been crushed and after Germany had been conquered and they were thus no threat to the safety of the State when they were freed.

In our case, however, it may be argued that our revolution is planned for the future and that security considerations require that we be treated differently. Add to this the fact that our convictions have not

changed and our dreams are still the same as they were before we were jailed; all of which would seem to confirm the opinion that our case is distinguishable from all the previous ones. We feel sure, however, that you will not be tempted to think along these lines, as such an argument would carry sinister implications. It would mean that if security considerations today require that we should be kept in prison, we would not be released when we complete our respective sentences, if the present situation remains unaltered, or if the position worsens. The plain truth is that the racial strife and conflict that seriously threatens the country today is due solely to the shortsighted policies and crimes committed by the Government.

The only way to avert disaster is not to keep innocent men in jail but to abandon your provocative actions and to pursue sane and enlightened policies. Whether or not evil strife and bloodshed are to occur in this country rests entirely on the Government. The continued suppression of our aspirations and reliance on rule through coercion drives our people more and more to violence. Neither you nor I can predict the price the country will have to pay at the end of that strife. The obvious solution is to release us and to hold a round table conference to consider an amicable solution.

Our main request is that you release us and pending your decision, to treat us as political prisoners. This means that we should be provided with good diet, proper clothing outfit, bed and mattress, newspapers, radios, bioscope, better contact with our families here and abroad.

Treatment as political prisoner implies the freedom to obtain all reading material that is not banned and to write books for publication. We would expect to be given the option to work as one desires and to decide the trades one would like to learn. In this connection we wish to point out that some of these privileges were enjoyed both by the 1914 rebels as well as by Leibbrandt and Colleagues all of whom were treated as political prisoners.

The prison authorities attempt to answer our demand for treatment as political prisoner by pointing out that we were

convicted by the Courts for contravening the laws of the country, that we are like any other criminals and, therefore, cannot be treated as political offenders.

This is a spurious argument which flies in the face of the facts. On this view De Wet, Kemp, Maritz, Leibbrandt and others were ordinary criminals. Treason, sabotage, membership of an illegal organisation were all criminal offences then as now. Why then were they treated differently. It seems to us that the only difference between the two cases is one of Colour.

Serious differences of opinion on a specific issue had emerged amongst the Whites, and those who lost in the contest that flowed from these differences eventually found themselves behind bars. On all other issues, especially on the major question of colour both victor and vanquished were in agreement. The conflict having been solved it was possible for the Government to adopt a conciliatory attitude and to extend to the prisoners all sorts of indulgences. But today the position is altogether different. This time the challenge comes, not from the white man, but mainly from black politicians who disagree with the Government on almost everything under the sun. The victory of our cause means the end of white rule.

In this situation the Government regards the prison not as an institution of rehabilitation but as an instrument of retribution, not to prepare us to lead a respectable and industrious life when released, and to play our role as worthy members of society, but to punish and cripple us, so that we should never again have the strength and courage to pursue our ideals. This is our punishment for raising our voices against the tyranny of colour. This is the true explanation for the bad treatment we receive in prison — pick and shovel work continuously for the last 5 years, a wretched diet, denial of essential cultural material and isolation from the world outside the jail. This is the reason why privileges normally available to other prisoners, including those convicted of murder, rape and crimes involving dishonesty are withheld from political offenders.

We get no remission of sentence. Whilst

“...the convictions that give form and direction to our activities....
are in accordance with the enlightened conceptions of the human family.”



A young woman at a demonstration

the ordinary prisoner is classified in C group on admission political offenders are put in D which carries the least privileges. Those of us who managed to reach A group are denied privileges normally enjoyed by criminals in the same group. They are compelled to do pick and shovel work, are not allowed newspapers, radios, bioscope, contact visits and even groceries are given grudgingly.

As already indicated in the second paragraph above, I make this application on behalf of all my colleagues on the Island and in other jails and I trust that any concessions that may be granted will be made available to all without exception.

The Prisons Act 1959 gives you the necessary powers to grant the relief we seek. Under its provisions you are entitled to release us on parole or probation. De Wet and others were released under the former method. In conclusion, we place on record that the years we have spent on this Island have been difficult years. Almost every one of us has had a full share in one way or another of the hardships that face non-white prisoners. These hardships have at times been the result of official indifference to our problems, other times they were due to plain persecution. But things have somewhat eased and we hope even better days will come. All that we wish to add is that we trust that when you consider this application you will bear in mind that the ideas that inspire us, and the convictions that give form and direction to our activities constitute the only solution to the problems of our country and are in accordance with the enlightened conceptions of the human family.

Yours faithfully,

Signed N. Mandela

INTERVIEW WITH DEAN MOLALE

In a desperate but futile attempt to stem the revolutionary tide currently sweeping the country, the South African fascist regime is committing crime after crime against the international community.

These come in many forms, such as the notorious so-called hot pursuit, flagrant violation of neighbouring countries' territory and airspace and many others. The latest and most revealing of these crimes was when South African security police detained the Dean of the Anglican Church in Botswana, Dean Mokhasi Michael Molale, under the infamous Terrorism Act, from July 26 to August 7, 1978.

Dean Molale's detention proved beyond doubt two important things with regard to the apartheid regime's arrogant disregard for international law and its interference in neighbouring countries' affairs. Dean Molale was detained at an international departure lounge at Jan Smuts airport. That part of the airport is, according to international law, outside South Africa's jurisdiction.

It has been known for years that the South African regime intercepts letters and other forms of communication to and from people on their lists of 'suspects' inside and outside the country. But Dean Molale's detention proved that in addition to this, the fascist also intercept correspondence between other countries.

Dean Molale was on his way from Botswana to Umtata to visit his mother-in-law when the agents of imperialism caught up with him. He told SECHABA during an interview in Gaborone that he suspected the South African police had tapped the telephone he had used to inform friends that he would be at Jan Smuts airport on the day in question.

"I had just entered the international departure lounge and handed my passport

over to the relevant official, when I saw a white man behind the official showing a keen interest in me," Dean Molale said.

"Instead of giving the passport back to me, the official gave it to this white man who then told me he was a security policeman and had received instructions from Pretoria to detain me," he added.

The Dean was escorted to a room and "kept there for a very long time." "After about one and a half hours, three more white security policemen arrives and, without telling me who they were except that they were security police, searched my briefcase thoroughly." He was also searched personally.

Without anything being said, the Dean was led to a waiting car, after being handcuffed, and driven to security police headquarters in John Vorster Square, Johannesburg. "Along the way my bag was searched once again, by a man I later came to know as Visser." (The police force in Johannesburg is infested with Vissers).

On arrival at John Vorster Square, Dean Molale was taken to a man who told him that he was going to be detained under Section Six of the so-called Terrorism Act. "He further told me that I was going to be in for a very long time."

Dean Molale said he was not scared when told he would be in for a long time. "I told myself that I was going to adjust to the situation just like the many people I found there."

The man then started interrogating him. "He started by asking me about my association with what he called terrorist movements, making constant reference to the African National Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement."

The policeman then produced two files on the Dean. "I could not understand how these people could have so much informa-



Life under apartheid

tion about me.

"He produced from the file, photostat copies of letters I had written and received to and from overseas. It became very clear to me during the interrogation that letters to and from Botswana are intercepted in South Africa."

He said they had a copy of a letter he had written to a friend in the United States. "We were already suspicious that this letter had been intercepted because though it was posted in Botswana, when it arrived in the States, it had a Johannesburg postmark, suggesting that it had been reposted there, probably after being opened."

The Dean said the fascist police asked questions which suggested they thought he was part of a pipeline the liberation movement used to communicate with their contacts inside the country. "They thought I was a courier or something of that nature."

They asked how refugees were moved out of Botswana since June 16, 1976 "and thought I had vital information which I refused to release." They also wanted him to specify the type of work he was doing for the refugees "whom they referred to as terrorists." They kept asking him "how does a Christian find it possible to work with terrorists whose main aim is to overthrow the government by violent means."

The Dean does a lot of counselling to all refugees in Botswana, not only South Africans, through the Botswana Council of Churches. When he told the racist police that all he did was pastoral counselling, "they scorned me and suggested I should be knowing what the refugees were doing in terms of their future plans for the struggle." They told him they knew about his dealings with refugees. "But that turned out to be a gamble." They were desperately hoping to collide with the truth somewhere.

Among other things the fascists were "anxious" about were the funds that finance the struggle against imperialism and fascism in South Africa. "They suggested that the funds were smuggled into South Africa through Botswana and that I had a role to play in this." They asked him at length about the World Council of Churches which they told him had been infiltrated by communists. "They also said the South African Council of Churches was a front for the Black Consciousness Movement."

The Dean was confronted with a copy of a document in which he had made reference to the need for change in South Africa when addressing a South African Council of Churches Conference. "They wanted to know exactly what I meant by that statement which they said was unchristian."

Molale was subjected to exhaustive 29

interrogation for ten hours running, for thirteen days non-stop. The cell in which he was kept when not being interrogated was "very tight" and the windows, which had iron railings inside, were sealed outside. For the thirteen days that he was detained, Dean Molale was never allowed to wash or change clothes. He was handcuffed throughout the interrogation.

When Sechaba asked the Dean if he would ever think of going to South Africa again, after his ordeal, he said: "for myself I would go again, whatever happens, but because I am now a Botswana national, I would not like to put the Government of Botswana in a diplomatic predicament."

Dean Molale is adamant about continuing his work with the refugees. "You will be amazed that since I arrived from South Africa, I have already attended to a number of refugee problems right here in my house. Nothing is going to stop me from helping man, irrespective of his category."

When asked whether he was bitter about his detention the Dean remarked: "Some people have been through worse ordeals. I felt small among young people I found in there, some of whom had been there for two years and could still afford a smile and a joke.

I saw the meaning of sacrifice in those children. They make you feel small as a Christian because Christians talk of sacrifice but do not enter into it. Those children have all the characteristics of fortitude in the cause they have committed themselves to."

The Dean's experience illustrates clearly how the fascists will go to any lengths in trying to stop the revolutionary upsurge which, under the leadership of the African National Congress, is systematically pulling the carpet from under the feet of the agents of imperialism and fascism in South Africa. Harder times can be expected. The enemy will become more desperate as the ANC deals it more decisive blows.

OBITUARY: JEZILE MKWANAZI

Speech by Comrade Alfred Nzo, ANC Secretary General at the graveside of Comrade Edwin Jezile Mkwanzazi ("Fumes") ANC Combatant.

Dear Comrades,
Members of the African National Congress and Umkhonto We Sizwe,
Our revolutionary allies in common struggle—
Swapo and Patriotic Front,
Fellow mourners and ardent supporters of the revolutionary struggle of the people of South Africa,

We have come here to lay to rest but forever a soldier of the revolutionary struggle of our people a dedicated member of our people's vanguard organisation, the ANC, leader of the struggle for the creation of a future people's democratic South Africa — a patriot and true son of our people, Comrade Edwin Jezile Mkwanzazi, popularly known as "Fumes".

We have come to entrust his last remains to the loving care of the people of Zambia until the time when we shall have completed the task for which Comrade Fumes and many countless other revolutionaries in our country have laid down their lives — the seizure of power by our people.

Comrades, Fumes belongs to that generation of revolutionary fighters in South Africa who as one of the early pioneers in our revolutionary army, Umkhonto We Sizwe took an oath and pledged themselves

to spare neither strength nor life itself, in pursuit of the great ideal of freedom and human dignity; social justice and progress for our people and the rest of the continent. Hardly a year after the proclamation of the birth of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the armed fist of our fighting people, in December 1962, Comrade Fumes and hundreds of his compatriots had left South Africa in search of political and military skills which would make him a better fighter for the cause of his people.

Those early years of the 60's were witnessing important political developments in our continent whose people were breaking the frontiers of colonial oppression in one African country after another thereby providing a proper atmosphere for the further consolidation of revolutionary ideals in the minds of young revolutionaries from our country. Comrade Fumes and his young compatriots of Umkhonto We Sizwe grasped the true meaning of the teachings of the African National Congress on the virtues of revolutionary internationalism as he got exposed to the genuine hospitality of the newly independent African peoples in one of whose countries he received initial military training and further afield in the first socialist country of the world the Soviet Union where he further acquired his military and political skills.

These experiences helped to sustain his revolutionary determination which burnt in his heart and mind throughout the long and difficult years he had to face up to his dying moment when he gathered enough strength to shout Amandla! Forward with the revolution!

We are proud of the fact that the African National Congress has been able to raise and nurture revolutionaries of the calibre of Comrade Fumes who through incredible difficulties, through periods characterised by stormy winds blowing against the sails of our ship, the African National Congress, clearly understood that the defence of the African National Congress and the strengthening of its ranks against the onslaughts of imperialist subversion was the first task of every genuine revolutionary interested in the furtherance of the revolutionary cause of our people. Comrade Fumes was such a man.

The revolutionary optimism in the eventual triumph of the heroic cause of our people and the boundless faith in the ability of the African National Congress to lead and guide our struggle which was characterised by Comrade Fumes and all South African revolutionaries has been vindicated by the present developments in South Africa and Southern Africa as a whole.

Everywhere in Southern Africa the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people have gained momentum. Whether the enemies of our peoples aided and buttressed by international imperialism like to admit it or not, it has become evident that the problems in this region can never be solved outside the course set by the South West Africa People's Organisation in Namibia, the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and the African National Congress in South Africa.

The fascist regime of Johannes Vorster has been plunged into a deep crisis. In the face of the relentless onslaught of the revolutionary movement and oppressed people in our country, the ruling circles have been forced to admit that it is impossible to crush the African National Congress. In a desperate effort for survival, the regime has turned South Africa into an armed camp subordinating everything else to the needs of the military programme which is consuming vast economic resources unparalleled in peace time. The military programme of the regime has been extended for the first time to the black people who are now being used as cannon fodder in areas where the regime is confronted by the revolutionaries of SWAPO and the African National Congress in Namibia and South Africa.

On the other hand, the repressive machine is working in top gear. Thousands of our people have been thrown into prisons; the armed might of the regime is being employed to crush our revolutionary movement; the murder of detainees continues. A few days ago yet another detainee was thrown through the window of an office of the special branch on the eighth floor of a building in Port Elizabeth, Cape Province. Over the grave of Comrade Fumes, we energetically condemn the latest crime of the Vorster regime. The death of Lungile Tabalaza and many others before him shall be avenged.

Our Comrades in arms in Zimbabwe and Namibia, the Patriotic Front and SWAPO, are intensifying their blows against our common enemies. The treachery of the former nationalist, Sithole and Muzorewa and the tribal chief, Chirau has been exposed and the vast majority of the people of Zimbabwe have strengthened their faith in the Patriotic Front as the only genuine force fighting for their true independence. The traitors of the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference are rejected by the people of Namibia who are rallying in ever stronger formations behind SWAPO.

Compatriots, the progressive regimes on our continent are successfully defeating the imperialist manouvres aimed at their destabilisation. The Peoples Republic of Angola and Mozambique, Zambia, Ethiopia and others are forging ahead overcoming the numerous obstacles placed on their paths by the worst enemies of our continent. The anti-imperialist movement in general in Africa is becoming stronger and the progressive role of the Socialist countries in defence of our continent is being acknowledged by an ever expanding public opinion on our continent. The bait of the so-called Soviet and Cuban aggression against the African continent has not been swallowed.

This has forced our enemies into a position where they have been forced to adopt openly aggressive tactics in defence of their vast economic and political interests in our continent. Such is the lesson of the recent events in the Shaba province where the Nato countries have even gone to the extent of attempting to use certain African countries to defend the interests of imperialist plunder under the cloak of the fictitious "Soviet and Cuban aggression". Life has however already shown that the aggressive designs of Nato shall not pass. The majority of the African countries have rejected the so-called Pan African Peace Force which bears the label "Made in France, Belgium and the United States of America".

The African National Congress stands resolutely behind the progressive forces of the African Continent in the struggle to defeat these dangerous imperialist man-

ouvres. We are convinced that the intensified imperialist counter-offensive that has been unleashed is directed at creating the necessary conditions for the further strengthening and consolidation of the regimes of terror in South Africa and the rest of Southern Africa. It has become clear that the path chartered by the aggressive Nato circles for the achievement of this counter-revolutionary objective goes through efforts at destabilisation of progressive regimes on our continent, through efforts to disunite the African continent and weaken their united struggle against neo-colonial aggression and above all to isolate our continent from its natural allies, the Socialist countries and other progressive forces of the world.

The African National Congress pledges over the grave of Comrade Fumes and in the lasting memory of revolutionary stalwarts such as Chief Albert Luthuli, Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks, Bram Fischer, Duma Nokwe, J.D. M.P. and Monty Naicker and countless others, that it shall intensify the armed revolutionary struggle for seizure of power by the people of our country. This is the urgent expectation of our people who have already demonstrated through revolutionary deeds their readiness to sacrifice for the attainment of this strategic objective. We pledge to intensify our efforts for the further consolidation and strengthening of the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard of our people, the African National Congress, and we shall resist with all our might the ceaseless counter-revolutionary attempt by overt and covert enemies, aimed at disuniting and weakening its striking power. Disruptive elements who do the work of the enemy within our midst shall be exposed and justly punished. We owe this revolutionary duty not only to millions of our people but equally to the victorious march of the African revolution and the consolidation of mankind's progress.

On behalf of the African National Congress and all progressive forces in our country we convey heartfelt condolences to the relatives and friends of Comrade Fumes.

INVESTMENT IN APARTHEID

Recently there has been much talk about the breaking of oil sanctions against Rhodesia by Britain. Britain's biggest oil company, B.P., in which the UK Government is a shareholder, has confessed to an official enquiry that for the past twelve years it has been supplying petroleum products to the illegal regime of Smith in Rhodesia. South Africa is very much involved in all this conspiracy which goes beyond the question of oil sanctions. Included in this British hypocrisy is the question of investments in South Africa. The imperialist powers are guilty of supporting apartheid.

When we talk of foreign investments we think of the political, economic, military and cultural relations of South Africa with the Western world. These investments started with the discovery of diamonds and gold about a hundred years ago and were confined to the manufacturing sector. Now they have entered the military-industrial complex via the selling of licences for local production of arms.

Foreign companies play a leading role in maintaining Apartheid: they actively participate in the deliberate exclusion of Blacks from skilled jobs; maintaining the vast and growing average wage diffe-



rentials between black and white workers; denial of trade union rights to Blacks; race classification; pass laws preventing free movement of Africans in the land of their birth: strengthening of racism and deliberate exclusion of Blacks from Skilled jobs which are filled by white immigrants.

The inflow of foreign capital results in a high standard of living for Whites and increases the gap between Blacks and Whites. Foreign investments enable the South African economy to absorb new white immigrants each year from the rest of the world who fill key management and professional posts.

The other disturbing aspect of foreign investments is that they bring new technology which is used in the repression and manipulation of our people — e.g. computerised technology takes white propaganda to black ghettos and increases the efficiency of the political police in their surveillance of the Blacks.

Investments boost South Africa's military capacity because South Africa's balance of trade runs at a deficit but investments bail

the South African regime out and this enables South Africa to stockpile essential commodities such as oil and arms, which build up and increase the "self-confidence" of the racists who are becoming more and more arrogant and defiant.

This should be viewed in connection with the attempts to invest in the so-called Bantustans — which are supposed to be "independent States". Bantustans are part of the South African Customs Union and Rand Currency area — any exports to the rest of the world would boost South Africa's foreign exchange earnings. It should be remembered that the Africans in the Bantustans are paid lower wages — that is, even lower than the already low wages in white South Africa.

We demand that the Western countries should disassociate themselves from the Apartheid regime.



Servitude to the Whites allows her entry

SAM NUJOMA SPEAKS



Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO

At a press conference in Cuba during the 11th World Youth Festival, Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO told the pressmen and journalists that:

"The Western powers are proposing that SWAPO and South Africa should cease hostilities and the fight must end so that through the United Nations Security Resolution 385 a process of decolonisation can start and this is what this is all about. Now in the first place, there is involved the withdrawal of the South African troops and the Western powers are telling us that the Pretoria racist regime has agreed to withdraw stage by stage its repressive armed forces from Namibia and the first I have asked them for — what they term face saving device — that means enemy troops numbering about 1,500 should remain in Namibia during the political process leading to independence. Well SWAPO makes the concession in this respect, that these troops can remain in Namibia provided that they are confined to their base during the political process leading to elections and also SWAPO insisted that during the transitional period the UN should run the administration and not the South African racists administrators there.

With regard to Walvis Bay, as far as SWAPO is concerned, Walvis Bay has been and is still and will remain forever an integral part of Namibia. SWAPO fights to liberate each and every region of Namibia including Walvis Bay. We are fully participating in this decolonisation process through the UN, but if such decolonisation process fails to achieve or implement fully Security Council Resolution 385 the people of Namibia under the banner of SWAPO will continue to intensify the armed revolutionary struggle because this is the only technical way that leads our people to genuine freedom and independence.

Well, with regard to the question about the enemy attack on SWAPO of Namibian refugee settlement at Kassinga and the people of the Republic of Angola that is, it was clear aggression on the part of the Pretoria racist regime against the Peoples Republic of Angola and the Namibian people. It is true the Settlement was inhabited by more than 4,000 people mostly women and children. The bombardment was very heavy throughout the day from 7.15 in the morning to 6 p.m. in the afternoon. We lost more than 700 comrades and more than 400 injured, the majority of them being women and children. Certainly SWAPO considered that this is an enemy attack and all that we will do is to attack the enemy at each base. We know where the enemy is located in Namibia as well as in South Africa. We don't feel a pity about it that we do take up our full responsibility in order to ensure total defeat of the enemy and that the seizure of power by the Namibian people becomes a reality in Namibia."

Then he continued to explain:

"I must tell you that during the talks between SWAPO on the one hand, the Western powers and South Africa, on the other, that I mean the Western powers were representing the interests of South Africa, the racist Pretoria regime continued to increase its methods of repression against the Namibian people. While the negotiations were on, unilaterally, the racist Pretoria regime appointed in August last year a so called Administrator General. We are made to understand by the statement made by the South African Government that the so called Administrator General's duties and task in Namibia were to repeal repressive laws but to our knowledge up to this very moment the so called Administrator General has been proclaiming emergency regulations AG26, AG50 etc. These emergency regulations empowered the South African police as well as soldiers to arrest and detain SWAPO leaders, members and supporters. Also instigated deliberately by



the Administrator General organised violence whereby the police in Windhoek and other towns distribute weapons to the puppets of Turnhalle and other reactionary elements in the service of the enemy, which resulted in the killing of many members of SWAPO in Windhoek, Ochiravango, Otakarara as well as other places in Namibia. As we are talking here the South African police including soldiers are still rounding up leaders and members of SWAPO, inside Namibia. It is significant that you note that there are some journalists who were at our Press Conference in Luanda after the talks we had with the Western powers, that those journalists who came from Windhoek after they returned they were arrested at the airport as soon as they landed and imprisoned. In the meantime the so called Administrator General has already issued proclamation of registration of voters

and of course is providing the Turnhalle Democratic Alliance so called, with all the facilities, in fact they have long started campaigning for elections whereas our comrades are locked up and some of us are in exile. One really wonders as to the impartiality and honesty of the Pretoria racist regime when it has claimed to have accepted the Western power proposal aiming at achieving a negotiated settlement in Namibia. While the negotiations were still on, Stein and his Government attacked in several locations militarily the Peoples Republic of Angola including Kassinga."

He acknowledged the assistance rendered by progressive people throughout the world:

"Well, certainly we do receive support from the Socialist countries, from the OAU



SWAPO delegation at the Havana Festival



Sam Nujoma with foreign delegates in Cuba

member states, from national and international organisations in the capitalist world as well as from individuals. SWAPO has held to the view that the main burden of the liberation struggle of our country has to be borne by the Namibians themselves. Therefore we appreciate your support by writing articles to inform world public opinion about the struggle being waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO. To us this is a great contribution to our struggle, but the liberation struggle of Namibia remains the sole responsibility of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO..”

He denounced the reactionary elements in the service of imperialism:

“Certainly there were reactionary elements who were detained by the Tanzanian Government but not thousands as we have the Pretoria regime and the Western news media are claiming to be. There are only a few of those reactionary elements and I

want to make very clear that these reactionary elements are not politically a threat to SWAPO. They are in the service of the enemy — in that sense they are a threat to the struggle of the Namibian people in particular and Southern Africa in general because they are being used by the enemy of the African people.

Perhaps I can elaborate more with regard to West Germany's attitude to SWAPO. Well as far as we know, the West German Government is one of those governments in the Western world rendering concrete material assistance to South Africa in terms of arms, economic, political and diplomatic support which enables the Pretoria racist regime to defy world public opinion as well as United Nations resolutions with regard to Namibia and because of that support the Pretoria racist regime carries out massacres such as that of Soweto, Alexandra Township as well as daily killing in cold blood of the South African people who are resisting racial discrimination, apartheid and oppression. The case in point

here is that of late Steve Biko and others and this is being done in the name of so called support of Western Christian civilisation."

He concluded the press conference with a clear statement on SWAPO's future policy and accused UNITA and CIA of involvement with racist South Africa:

"As far as SWAPO is concerned we apprec-

iate the efforts of Governments, national and international organisations as well as individuals who are supporting our cause because our belief is that the struggle for the liberation of Namibia is the responsibility of the Namibians themselves to fight and overthrow the shackles of colonialism and imperialism. However on this particular issue, I don't think any country or any individual should get the credit of claiming that they have brought about independence



Victims of the Kassinga massacres

to Namibia. Namibia's independence or the developments which have led to the current negotiations between the Namibian people, Western powers and racist South Africa indirectly — this came as a result of bitter struggle, hardships, sufferings and sacrifices, which generation after generation of Namibia has made. Our freedom is spelt in blood and we will make sure that we continue to fight and liberate ourselves and nobody should take the credit of the suffering and sacrifices of the Namibian people.

Well certainly we have not discussed any point concerning the Namibian mineral wealth and the mineral wealth belongs to Namibia and its people. Why should we discuss it with foreigners there is no need to indulge in that fruitless exercise.

Secondly, SWAPO's policy with regard to future economic development is first of all, clear occupation to fight and liberate Namibia. After the liberation when we achieve political independence we will have a programme of the new phase of the struggle and that is economic development. Our policy will be to make sure that we destroy the economic system of exploitation by foreigners in Namibia and replace these colonial institutions with new institutions which will enable the Namibian people irrespective of their colour or race or places of origin to benefit from the mineral resources that exist in our country. That means that we will not allow further foreign exploitation of Namibian mineral wealth. Multinational corporations belonging to the Western countries have opened up a uranium mine in the vicinity of Walvis Bay. That is a clear indication that South Africa first of all wants to maintain Walvis Bay under its control and hold Namibia to ransom to dictate to Namibia — its foreign as well as national policies. That for Namibia's important export to go through Walvis Bay we must trade with that country or we must not have diplomatic relations with this country or another.

Also the military build up in Namibia by South Africa which is still increasing up to this moment makes one want to wonder as to how could such a regime intend to relinquish its colonialism over Namibia and yet they are still constructing

more military bases and more troops daily are brought to the frontier more particularly that of the Peoples Republic of Angola. Here we see South Africa and the Western powers play a role of giving South Africa much more advantages, politically as well as militarily with a view to create an apartheid regime in Namibia, which will be controlled and manipulated from Pretoria and through which the Western countries through their vast national corporations will continue to exploit Namibian mineral wealth while the Namibian people are suffering from hunger, disease and ignorance. This is how we look at the situation.

The UNITA bandits, counter-revolutionaries, are in the service of the enemies of the Namibian people, Angola and Africa in general. Therefore certainly such a group is dangerous because they are easily used by the South African racists in Namibia — they are being trained there at Virkfontein, Oruntu, Ondangua and other military bases in Namibia and after training they are being armed, infiltrated into Angola, sometimes in the company of South African troops along the border areas where these counter-revolutionaries are planting land-mines on the roads as well as anti-personnel mines between the paths and the waterholes where the people normally in villages are taking water from, so these reactionary elements are being used by the enemies of the African people, in that way.

Well in regard to the involvement of the CIA in Namibia, from what we read from the news media and books written by people who were involved in the CIA is that the racist Pretoria regime worked together with the CIA during the invasion by South African troops using Namibia as a springboard to attack the Peoples Republic of Angola. That is clear that the CIA and the BOSS, the State Security South African secret service, are working together against the interests of the oppressed people in Namibia, as well as that of the Peoples Republic of Angola. This is clearly coming from the news media of the west and the books written by those who were involved."

ADDIS ABABA CONFERENCE



Comrade Nzo meets Fidel Castro

Onto the soil of revolutionary Ethiopia, from September 12 to 17, came over 300 delegates from 110 countries representing 138 national and international organisations, political parties, governments and liberation movements to participate in what has already become an historic conference: The International Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle of the African and Arab Peoples Against Imperialism and Reaction. It was held in Africa Hall, the Headquarters of the Organisation of African Unity, in Addis Ababa and took place immediately following the massive two-day celebrations marking the fourth anniversary of the Ethiopian Revolution.

This international gathering was significant for many reasons. One was the overwhelming unity of the support pledged by the delegates to the national liberation movements of Africa and the Middle East.

Aside from Mengistu Haile Mariam, President of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of the Ethiopian Government, and Fidel Castro, both of

whom addressed the Conference at its inauguration, other prominent participants included: Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the African National Congress of South Africa, Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, co-leaders of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, Joseph Jimmiej, executive member of the South West Peoples Organisation of Namibia, Alamin Ahmed, Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Saharawi (Polasario), and Abdullah Hourani of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

After four days of work sessions some of the major features highlighting this important conference were:

The crucial role of internationalism and, most particularly, the unstinting internationalist aid of the Socialist countries in support of the people's struggles to achieve authentic independence.

The analysis of world imperialism's latest efforts to hold back and destroy the revolutionary forces and liberation 41

movements. Specifically, the new reliance on the formation of regional politico-military blocks dependent on local reactionary regimes. Examples of these tactics include the role of Israel and Iran as major conduits of arms to maintain fascist and anti-democratic states such as South Africa and Nicaragua, and the attempts to create a military pact in the South Atlantic.

The need to stop the arms race and to increase the pressure for detente and disarmament. The Conference recognized the significance of American efforts to produce the neutron bomb as being potentially an anti-liberation movement weapon.

The Conference expressed unlimited support to Ethiopia and also urged all democratic and peace forces everywhere in the world to increase the material, moral and financial aid to the authentic national liberation movements of Africa and the Middle East.

Most observers at the Conference, the first of its kind held in Africa, felt it had made, and would continue to make, a significant contribution to the unity of the worldwide anti-imperialist forces.

The Conference ended in an appropriate



Comrade Mengistu with Fidel Castro



way: hundreds of thousands of people gathered in Addis Ababa's Revolution Square for a mass rally to express their enthusiastic support of the resolutions passed by this historic International Conference.

THE OAU SUMMIT

The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa, after receiving a report on the discussions and decisions of the recent 15th OAU Summit held in Khartoum, hailed the victory of the Organisation of African Unity over imperialist subversion and counter-revolutionary manoeuvres.

Indeed, the intensity of the struggle both militarily and ideologically which imperialism and in particular, its arm of aggression the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), had unleashed against the African continent prior to the OAU Summit underlines the singular importance and the historic nature of the victory in defence of the independence and social progress of our continent and its peoples.

The NATO planned and engineered intervention against our continent as evidenced by the recent 'Shaba events' and which was accompanied by an unprecedented intensification of the imperialist ideological offensive was in our view in pursuit of very definite aims and objectives to totally discredit the natural allies of the national liberation movement of the African peoples, the Socialist countries.

Firstly, it is clear that the imperialist system refuses to reconcile itself to the fact that the victorious peoples of our continent, whose eyes were opened by centuries of colonial domination and oppression, are determined to free themselves from the imperialist grip and proceed along the road of independent political, economic and social development. The Shaba events showed that the imperialist overlords are determined to go to any length to defend their weakening political and ideological positions and vast economic interests.

Secondly, for imperialism to succeed in its aggressive plans it must, in the first

instance direct its attention to the destabilisation of progressive African states. It is certainly no accident that the Shaba invasion had been preceded by another invasion of the Peoples Republic of Angola spearheaded as in the past by the fascist regime of South Africa. The repeated aggressive sallies by the South African and Rhodesian regimes against the Peoples Republic of Mozambique, the Republics of Zambia and Botswana are part of this grand plan.

Thirdly, to help the regimes of reaction and aggression in Southern Africa carry the intensified blows of the revolutionary national liberation movements of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, the imperialist system has always sought to divide so as to weaken the unity of the independent African countries and also to divert their attention away from concentrating on the main question of decolonisation which is one of the cardinal principles of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity.

The imperialist plans have so far been defeated, if the work of the recent OAU Summit is anything to go by. But, of course this aggressive system has not laid down its arms.

The reports that the British administration is planning to mount the same operation in Rhodesia, as we recently witnessed in the Shaba Province, under the slogan of 'saving the white people' are no idle speculation. The consistency of the revolutionary positions of the Patriotic Front has convinced the British administration and its allies that their plans for the neo-colonial solution of the Zimbabwe independence issue will not come to pass.

Despite the loud propaganda surrounding the Western countries plan for independence of Namibia, there is as yet no

categoric demand for the immediate evacuation of the aggressive South African regime from the Walvis Bay which is an integral part of the Namibian territory nor is it clear what will happen in case the Vorster regime refuses to pull out of Namibia if the developments in Namibia should not go in its favour. In both Zimbabwe and Namibia, imperialism still regards the fascist regime in South Africa as the key factor for the solution of the vital problems of Southern Africa.

This is done obviously to justify the support for the regime for it to remain a reliable stronghold for the protection of imperialism's interests in Southern Africa and Africa as a whole.

It is therefore necessary to maintain round-the-clock vigilance. In the view of the African National Congress, the hope for the future of our continent lies in the further deepening of the anti-imperialist content of the African revolution. This presupposes that the contribution and the positive role of the socialist countries and other progressive forces of the world should not only be appreciated but also defended, without equivocation, from ceaseless attacks by the aggressive enemies of the whole of mankind.

The Khartoum OAU Summit has demonstrated the necessity for the further consolidation of the ranks of the progressive forces of our continent. This can be ensured through regular bilateral and multilateral contacts and meetings at which urgent problems confronting our continent are reviewed. The African National Congress is ready to strengthen its fraternal relations with all the progressive forces of the continent as we consider this task very vital for the interests of the African revolution and the general anti-imperialist movement.

The African National Congress is fully conscious of the fact that victory over fascism in South Africa remains the crucial task for ensuring the peaceful development of our continent. Towards this end and in conformity with the supreme responsibility as the premier national liberation movement, our organisation will bend every effort towards the mobilisation of our heroic people for the execution of the revolutionary programme for seizure of power. We remain assured of independent Africa's solidarity acting in concert with other progressive forces of the world.

Amandla! Maatla!

Power to the People!



PC:



Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan, Samora Machel, O.R. Tambo and Marcelino Dos Santos
ANC INTERNATIONAL

LESOTHO SETS PAGE

An ANC delegation: Comrades Dilinger, Maharaj and Mfundisi, attended a Symposium on Human Rights, sponsored by the United Nations and hosted by the Lesotho Government.

In hosting the Symposium, the Lesotho Government confirmed its strong opposition to the South African racist regime and its support for the liberation struggle. Despite Lesotho's landlocked position, and resultant economic dependence on South Africa, Lesotho supported the call for total economic sanctions against the apartheid regime and stated its recognition of the armed struggle as a legitimate right of the oppressed people of our country.

At the opening session, attention was drawn to the fact that the next day, July 18 1978, marked the 60th birthday of Nelson Mandela. The following day saw a motion in the Lesotho Parliament in support of the Symposium and calling for the release of Mandela and all South African

political prisoners. At the Symposium itself, the first working session was set aside to observe the occasion, and a Lesotho Minister was appointed to make the speech in Mandela's honour.

The deliberations and resolutions reflected what has been happening at all other international conferences. When the United States, West Germany and Great Britain raised the question of 'peaceful change' in Southern Africa urging delegates to support this, the ANC delegation exposed this move as a contradiction of their previous position at the Lagos Conference. At Lagos, the Western powers had endorsed the pre-ambule to the Conference Declaration which recognised and acknowledged the right of the South African people to overthrow the apartheid regime by whatever means, including armed struggle.

West Germany further isolated itself in denying its nuclear collaboration with racist South Africa and much time was 45



Mac Maharaj with King Bereng Moshoeshe

spent in attacking this position. The Netherlands raised the question that economic sanctions against South Africa were incorrect, because they would cause more suffering for the black people. This stand was challenged by Lesotho whose position was endorsed by the Angolan delegation.

The mood of the delegates typified what has been reached in international forums. From the start, speaker after speaker stressed that the time has passed for simply condemning apartheid, and that what is now necessary is concrete action. Stemming from this commitment to action, the Symposium endorsed the Lagos and Lisbon Programmes of Action — with the exception of the US, West Germany and Britain who put forward certain reservations. The firm stand of the Front Line and neighbouring states against South Africa was underlined throughout the Symposium.

Many South Africans, who after hearing that an ANC delegation was present, attended the Symposium as observers and applied for permission from the Lesotho Government to hold a public meeting. MPLA, Frelimo and ANC were invited to address the meeting, as well as a representative of the Lesotho Government.

The MPLA speaker tackled the question of unity, emphasising that unity must be based on certain principles and pointing

to the experience of Angola. On the same theme, Comrade Mofokeng, (former President of NAYO), speaking on behalf of the South African community, stressed that from its formation, the ANC's central policy had been the unity of the oppressed people of South Africa. But he reiterated that this unity cannot be bought at any price, it must be grounded on fundamental principles — principles enshrined in the policy and programme of the African National Congress.

The Frelimo speaker dealt with the close relationship between his Party and the ANC, since the formation of Frelimo. He made an assurance of his Government's firm support for the ANC, calling for intensified support of the armed struggle led by the ANC and its revolutionary allies.

Both the Symposium and meeting clearly demonstrated the growing isolation of the apartheid regime. Support for our movement and the stand of the Front Line and neighbouring states against South Africa's racist aggression found strong expression in Lesotho. Here, one more step was achieved towards the total isolation of racist South Africa and her allies.

THE NEW DELHI CONFERENCE

An International Conference for the Liberation of Southern Africa and Against Apartheid organised by the World Peace Council, Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation and All-India Peace and Solidarity Organisation, took place in New Delhi, India from September 28 to October 2, 1978. Over 800 delegates from nearly 70 countries participated. The liberation movements of Southern Africa were represented by Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC of South Africa and Vice-President of the World Peace Council; Samuel Munodawafa, National Chairman of ZAPU (Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe) and Shapua Kaukungua SWAPO (Namibia) representative for Western Europe. The conference deliberations were characterised by a spirit of comradeship and solidarity with the struggles of our people.

In his speech Comrade Nzo characterised apartheid as follows:

The extreme national oppression of the black majority of South Africa by a white racist minority which has usurped for itself the exclusive right to rule our country, a situation best illustrated by the fact that only this white minority has the right to vote candidates and be voted into the legislative organs of the country;

The reduction of the indigenous African majority both in social practice and in law to the status of chattels, permitted to exist only so long as they produce wealth for the consumption of this white minority, hence the super-exploitation of the black working people to the point that to all intents and purposes all the country's productive wealth including land is in

white hands, while three-quarters of the national income accrues to the white fifth of the population;

The use of racism both as a justification for national oppression and super-exploitation and as a means for the consistent pursuit of these objectives;

Fascism, the use of extreme and open repression as consistent and conscious state policy to suppress and destroy all democratic forces which seek to change the situation we have already characterised; and

A policy of external aggression whose aim is the re-colonisation of Africa.

The following resolution on Southern Africa was unanimously adopted at the Conference:

The International Conference for the Liberation of Southern Africa and against Apartheid meeting in New Delhi from September 28 to October 2, 1978:

Hails the national liberation movements of Southern Africa — the African National Congress of South Africa, SWAPO (South West Africa Peoples Organisation) of Namibia and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe — on the great advances made in the struggle for liberation;

Notes that while the liberation movements are struggling for genuine independence and total liberation, world imperialism and its regional allies are attempting to impose neo-colonial solutions;

Considers it essential to mobilise all progressive, peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces of the world in solidarity with the

national liberation movements in this decisive and final stage of their struggle to overthrow the yoke of colonialism, racism and fascism;

Condemns the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury for their desperate and savage crimes against the people of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe;

Unreservedly condemns the USA, Britain, France, FRG, Japan, Israel and Iran for collaborating with and supporting the racist and fascist regimes in Southern Africa in the military, economic, diplomatic and other fields against the interests of the peoples of Southern Africa;

The Conference declares its full solidarity with the national liberation movements of Southern Africa — ANC of South Africa, Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and SWAPO of Namibia;

Expresses its gratitude to the OAU, the non-aligned community and other progressive forces in the world for the all-round support to the liberation movements of Southern Africa, and calls upon them to increase this support still further;

Calls on the United Nations and other appropriate organisations to:

- a) impose mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa
- b) expel South Africa from membership
- c) take all decisive measures to stop the violations of UN sanctions against Rhodesia

Denounces all manoeuvres by the racist States to set up puppet regimes in Namibia and Zimbabwe and to bantustanise South Africa;

Calls for international solidarity with the peoples of Southern Africa. Accordingly the Conference calls upon all progressive organisations to support the Continuation Committee of the World Conference against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, (Lisbon, 1977) formed at the request of and actually involving the ANC (SA), the Patriotic Front and SWAPO;

Welcomes the establishment of the International Commission of Investigation into the crimes committed by the racist regimes in Southern Africa and calls for

support to the first session of the Commission to be held next November in Brussels;

Calls for support to the International Week of Action Against Racism and Racial Discrimination (November 1-7) and to the Programme of Action in solidarity with South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe adopted by the International Conference to Eradicate Racism and Racial Discrimination (Basle, May 1978).

Urges all international and national organisations to support the work and initiatives of the NGO Sub Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonisation, and to take part in the implementation of the programme of action adopted by the International NGO Conference for action against Apartheid, held in Geneva from August 28-31, 1978;

Calls for full support to the Programme of Action adopted by the International Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle of African and Arab peoples against Imperialism and Reaction, held in Addis Ababa from September 14 to 17, 1978;

Welcomes the convocation of the International Youth and Students Conference of Solidarity with the People, Youth and Students of Southern Africa to be held from 19 to 23 of February, 1979;

Supports the actions of trade unions all over the world;

Calls for world-wide campaigns demanding:

1. Unconditional release of all political prisoners in Southern Africa;
2. Treatment of captured freedom fighters as prisoners of war in terms of the Geneva Convention.

Pledges increased moral, material and financial support to the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and the ANC of South Africa.

South Africa

The Conference calls on all Governments to take urgent and effective action to

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA & AGAINST APARTHEID NEW DELHI: Sept. 28 to Oct. 2. 1978



New Delhi Conference on Apartheid

implement fully the arms embargo against South Africa;

Further calls on the United Nations Security Council to take urgent and effective measures to prevent the Apartheid regime from acquiring nuclear weapons; to impose mandatory economic, oil and other sanctions against South Africa;

Further calls for a world-wide campaign to save the life of Solomon Mahlangu, a young ANC freedom fighter, sentenced to death by a racist court;

Appeals for effective observance by all countries of:

1. Soweto Day, June 16;
2. South Africa Freedom Day, June 26;
3. October 11, Day of Solidarity with South African political prisoners.

Namibia

The Conference calls upon the UN Security Council for the full implementation of UN

General Assembly Resolution 385 adopted at the Special Session on Namibia, held during May of this year;

Strongly condemns the barbarous and inhuman massacre of Namibian civilian refugees (largely old men, women and children) at Cassinga in Southern Angola, by the forces of the racist fascist regime of Pretoria.

Further condemns the use of Namibia national territory as a springboard of aggression against independent neighbouring states as has been witnessed in Angola and Zambia recently;

Strongly condemns the imperialist manoeuvres in collaboration with the South African racist regime to impose a neo-colonial solution thus delaying the true independence of Namibia;

Reaffirms its total support to SWAPO as the sole authentic representative of the peoples of Namibia in their just armed liberation struggle against South African illegal occupation;

Calls for the immediate and uncondi-

tional withdrawal of all South African occupying forces from Namibia and the recognition of Walvis Bay as an integral part of Namibia in terms of UN Security Council Resolution;

The conference calls for increased material assistance to SWAPO, particularly for immediate emergency assistance to the victims of Cassinga and other massacres;

The Conference further calls on the international community and all people of goodwill to condemn in no uncertain terms the tortures and murders of innocent Namibians and to call for the immediate release of all Namibians;

It also calls upon all the countries in the world which have economic ties with or interests in South Africa to forthwith cease from having any dealings with the racist regime and impose economic sanctions, which also include a total oil embargo;

The Conference further calls for the observance of August 26 as Namibia Day;

And demands the immediate and unconditional release of all Namibian political prisoners and detainees in South Africa and Namibia.

Zimbabwe

The Conference, concerned by the double-faced attitude of the imperialist powers, led by the USA and Britain, and by the manner in which they are handling the Southern African question in general, and the Zimbabwe question in particular;

Concerned by the continued barbaric and unprovoked acts of aggression committed by the fascist and settler racist regime of Ian Douglas Smith against the peace-loving countries bordering Rhodesia and Namibia;

Watching with disgust the massive recruitment of mercenaries from foreign countries, namely USA, Britain, West Germany, Canada, France, Italy, Belgium, Australia, Israel and South Africa, to fight alongside the Smith regime's military forces, and their inhuman crimes, such as raping, looting and killing in cold blood, the defenceless people of Zimbabwe, mainly women and children;



Apartheid in practice

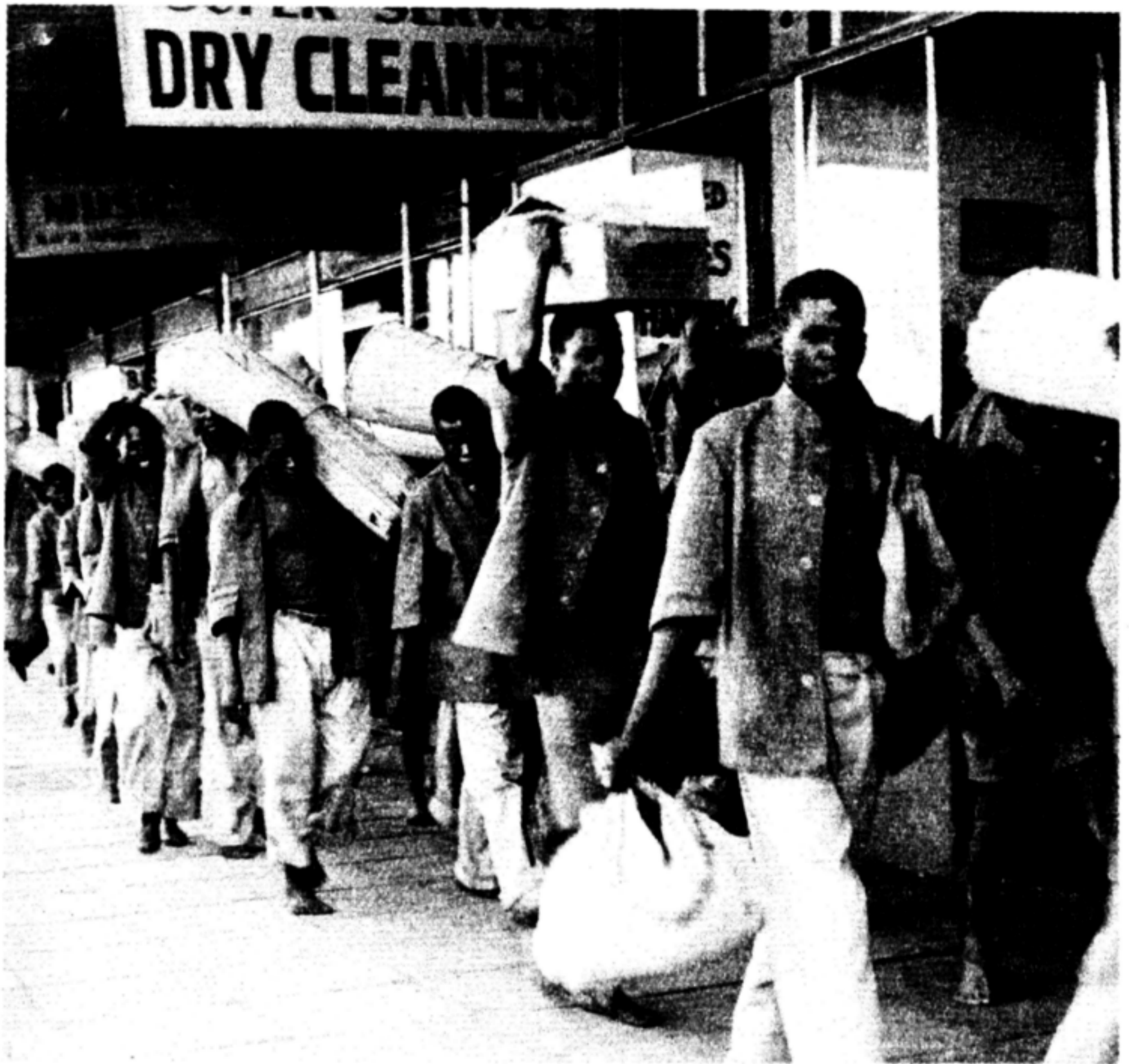
Reaffirming active support to the people of Zimbabwe through their vanguard liberation movement the Patriotic Front, in its intensification of the revolutionary armed struggle, its stand with regard to constitutional talks and its total rejection of the so-called internal settlement whose aim is to legitimise imperialist rule in a neo-colonialist form in Zimbabwe;

Commends the stand taken by the Front Line countries directly bordering Rhodesia and Namibia for their unflinching commitment to support the Patriotic Front and the people of Zimbabwe in the face of naked provocations by the Rhodesian fascist regime;

Calls upon the peoples of the world to continue the mobilisation of international public opinion regarding the struggle waged by the Patriotic Front and also to influence the U.N. member states to adopt the Draft Convention on the Prevention and Suppression of Mercenaries as recommended by the International Commission of Inquiry on Mercenaries, which met in Angola in June 1976;

Condemns in the strongest terms the Western countries and their lackeys who continue to give military, financial and moral support to the Rhodesian settler regime;

Resolves to intensify the all-round assistance to the Patriotic Front, in its just war of national liberation and for the creation of a just society in Zimbabwe.



Mine workers arriving in Johannesburg

MIGRATORY LABOUR

Addressing the conference on migratory labour in South Africa, ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo said, "the African National Congress welcomes the convening of this historic conference; historic because for the first time governments, liberation movements, and workers' organisations in

Southern Africa have come together to consider this pernicious system of migratory labour which has so fundamentally affected the political and economic life of the entire region and which has exacted so high a price from the African people."

The conference was organised by the 5:

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) at the instruction of the Council of Ministers of the ECA Eastern and Southern Africa region. It was held in Lusaka from April 4 to 7, 1978. The Council of Ministers, having discussed at length the question of migratory labour in Southern Africa had agreed, "that the whole question of the migratory labour system in Southern Africa, with all its ramifications, required urgent review by the countries of the Sub-region."

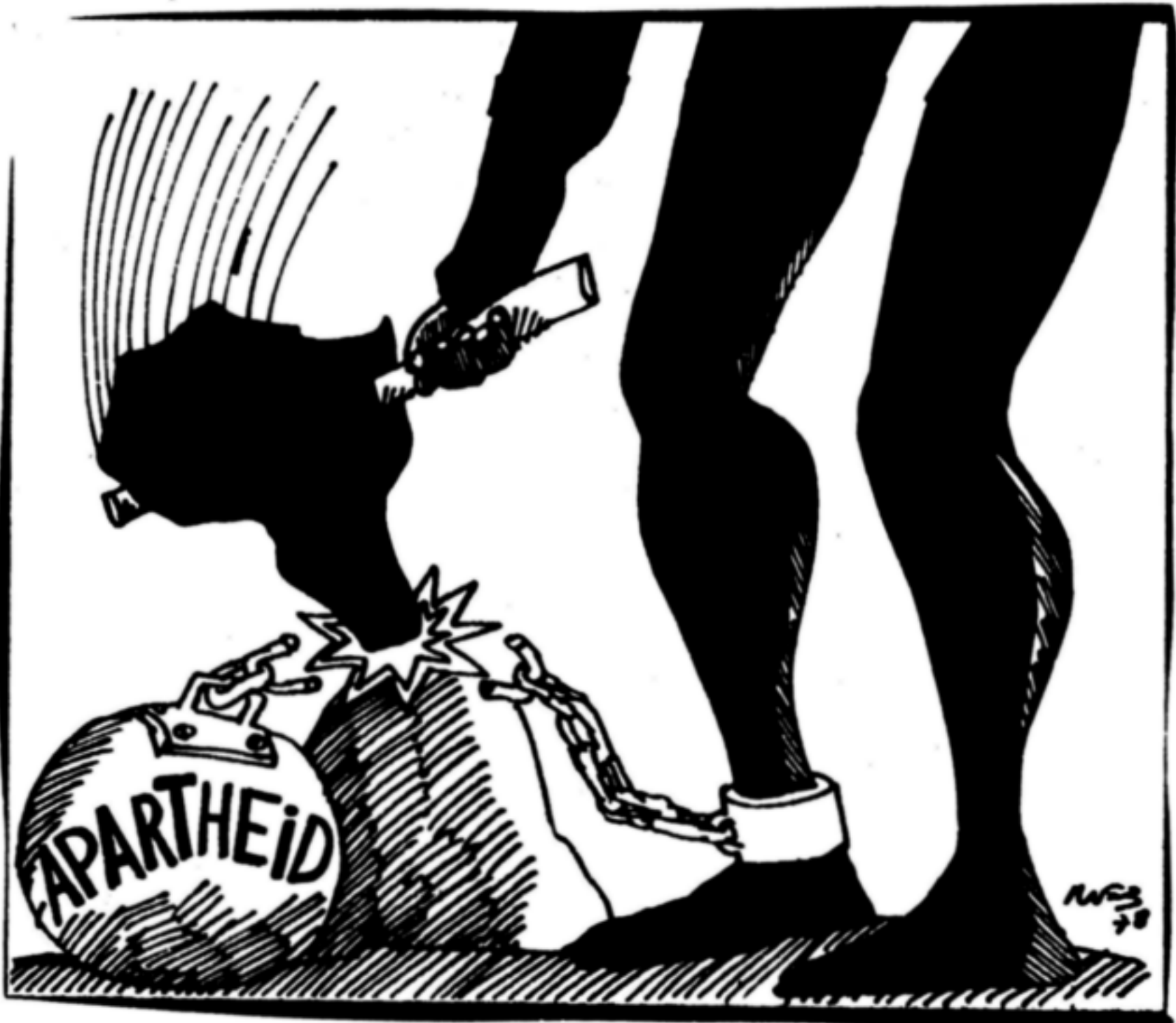
The main participants were therefore representatives of the countries directly affected by labour migration, namely the governments of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland; the liberation movements of Southern Africa, ANC of South Africa, Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and Swapo of Namibia; and the trade unions of Botswana, South Africa (SA Congress of Trade Unions) and Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe African Congress of Unions).

Several international organisations attended as observers. These included the European Economic Commission (EEC),

the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), to name but a few.

By any standard then, this was a major conference recently held in Southern Africa.

To return to Alfred Nzo's address, "the system of migratory labour in Southern Africa lies at the very heart of the South African socio-economic system. The exploitation of cheap migratory labour has become the dominant feature of economic relations in South Africa, and is the basis upon which the economic development and wealth of the country has grown." This wealth has of course not benefitted the working people of Southern Africa. Far from it. This wealth has gone to provide "for the collective and individual benefit, privilege, and comforts of a racially defined minority and for the maximum profit for all those, South African and foreigners, who are engaged in exploiting the human and the natural resources of Southern Africa."





More than 600,000 miners dig gold annually

The conference addressed itself specifically to the source of migratory labour in Southern Africa, — the South African mining industry.

The South African mining industry dates to the 1860's when diamond mining started in Kimberly followed shortly in the 1880's by gold mining in the Transvaal. Today, the South African mining industry has grown into the largest in the capitalist world employing every year, more than 600,000 workers. All these African miners are forced, by law, to work for periods of between six and eighteen months after which they are returned to the impoverished rural areas of Southern Africa only to be re-hired a few weeks later. In its paper to the conference, the South African Congress of Trade Unions estimated that since World War Two, "at least 400 million working hours have been wasted in travelling to and from the mines alone."

Why should so much time and energy be wasted? The answer is not hard to find. In our background paper to the conference, we said, "We (the ANC) see migratory labour as one of the major methods that successive racist regimes in our country have developed for the purpose of exploiting the African people not only of South Africa but of the Southern African region, while *simultaneously immobilising them socially and politically.* In other words, to make sure that the African worker loses his humanity

and his self-respect and therefore his urge to resist exploitation and injustice, his family life is disrupted and so also is his working life. He is always on the move."

To achieve this movement, the regime in South Africa stops at nothing: No expense is too large, no amount of violence is too brutal.

For those who benefit from mining in South Africa, migratory labour is a necessary evil, if at all they see it as an evil. The South African mining industry is important not only because of the numbers it employs and the profits it yields to its investors, local and foreign, but also because of what it produces. It produces 86 per cent of the Western world's platinum, 83 per cent of its chrome ore, and 47 per cent of the global gold supplies, as well as a host of many other minerals that are fed into the industries of the imperialist countries.

For the African people, the South African mining industry has, for more than a century, been a nightmare that defies description. The crushing poverty of Southern Africa's rural areas with their endemic chest diseases and their crippled men are a direct result of mining. In gold mining alone, over the past ten years, there have been an average of 3 deaths per shift. Between 1936 and 1975 approximately 22,306 African miners were killed and a further 1,022,000 disabled. Indeed, not all that glitters is gold; to the African miners

all that glitters is a death trap.

How did the conference resolve to tackle this 'pernicious system'?

To quote Alfred Nzo's address again, "the defeat of the migratory labour system in the final analysis, must be considered in the context of the liberation struggle of the South African people. The African National Congress has consistently called for the total isolation of the racist regime in the economic, political, military, and cultural fields. Our position however does not ignore the problems of our neighbours or the reality of the situation in Southern Africa; By the very nature of their contribution to the growth of the South African economy, our neighbours have suffered. Colonialism deliberately tried to create a situation of economic dependence upon South Africa and tied the national economies of the African States in the region to the apartheid economy. It cannot assist in the liberation of South Africa if the labour exporting countries are expected to permit the total disintegration of their economic and political structures consequent upon the withdrawal of labour from South Africa. Their ability to withdraw labour must depend upon the development of their economies and the ability to absorb the migrant workers."

The ANC's position was strongly supported by the government of the Peoples Republic of Mozambique. Speaking for his government, the head of the Mozambique delegation to the conference said, "the decisive factor for the elimination of this system of oppression and capitalist exploitation will ultimately be the development of an independent national economy (within labour exporting countries)."

The spirit behind the ANC address was not lost to the delegates. The struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa and the liquidation of minority regimes there involve in the first instance sacrifice for all the people of the region. Similarly, the victory of that struggle will be a victory for all the people of the region. "Only when the apartheid system has been eradicated will the full economic development of the region be possible," Nzo said in conclusion.



The delegates to the conference unanimously adopted a *Charter of Rights for Migrant Workers*. They promised "to strive for the abolition of the migratory labour system practised in South Africa and, pending its elimination, agree to the present Charter of Rights for Migrant Workers in Southern Africa."

These are the rights set out in the Charter:

Chapter 1

RIGHTS OF ASSOCIATION, MOVEMENT AND RESIDENCE

Article 1

All workers shall have the right to:

- (a) Form and join trade unions of their own choice;
- (b) Participate in collective bargaining on equal terms with all other workers regardless of race, sex, political affiliation or religion;
- (c) Withhold their labour by strike action in support of their demands.

Article 2

All workers shall have the right to freedom of movement and shall not be required to carry a pass or similar document.

Article 3

All workers shall have the right to be

accommodated near their places of work with their families in suitable houses under home ownership schemes or to reside elsewhere if they choose to do so.

Article 4

All workers shall have the right of occupation free from colour bar, job reservation and all other forms of discrimination.

Article 5

Every worker regardless of race or sex, shall have the right to work, choose his occupation, and change from one employer to another without loss of accrued benefits and claims to promotion.

Article 6

All workers, without exception, shall have the right to equal pay for equal work.

Article 7

All workers shall have equal rights to vocational training and adult education for the purpose of acquiring skills and increasing their awareness.

Chapter 11

RIGHT TO A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING

Article 8

Every worker is entitled to a minimum basic wage sufficient for the maintenance of the health and well being of his family.

Article 9

All workers shall have the right to adequate protection against occupational accidents and diseases by means of approved safeguards and close supervision by an independent industrial and farming inspectorate operating in conjunction with workers' representatives.

Article 10

All workers and their families shall have an equal and absolute right to adequate, immediate and effective compensation for death or disability arising out of occupational diseases and accidents.

Article 11

All workers shall have the right to:

- (a) Free medical services for themselves and their families;
- (b) Sick leave and, where applicable, maternity leave with full pay;
- (c) Annual paid holidays.

Article 12

All workers shall be entitled to retire on full pension or with a gratuity proportionate to their period of service.

Article 13

All workers shall have a right to determine, their terms and conditions of employment through collective bargaining.

Article 14

All workers shall have a right to unemployment benefits.

Article 15

All women workers shall have the right to participate in all sectors of the economy without discrimination in respect of wages, training, job allocation or pension benefits.

As a step towards implementing the decisions of the conference, it was agreed to form a Southern Africa labour committee composed of "representatives of the supplier states and of workers' organisations in Southern Africa."

CANADA & S.AFRICA

The October, 1977 crackdown against progressive organisations in South Africa — following so quickly on the heels of Steve Biko's death in detention — forced the Western capitalist world to increase its posturing against Apartheid.

Canadian governments, both Liberal and Conservative, pride themselves on creating and maintaining a liberal — some would even say progressive — foreign policy image in the international community.

More careful analysis reveals a very different reality, particularly with regard to Canada's political and economic relationship with reactionary regimes in Southern Africa. What masquerades as enlightened thinking conceals a nexus of imperialist connections that differ from those of the major capitalist countries only in their quantitative dimensions. National rhetoric for domestic and international consumption, however deceitful, plus profits for Canadian multinational corporations — these are the essential components of Canadian "liberalism."

These assumptions must be kept in mind when analyzing the so-called changes in Canadian trade policy with South Africa announced last December by External Affairs Minister Donald Jamieson. To distance itself from the Apartheid regime, Canada advocated four measures designed to "phase out all government sponsored, commercially supported activities in South Africa." They are:

— a withdrawal of Canadian commercial councillors from Johannesburg and Cape Town.

— a withdrawal of all government support for transactions relating to South Africa made through the "government account" section of the Export Development Corporation. (The EDC is a government body that gives

export credit insurance, loan insurance and foreign investment insurance. It has two accounts — the "government account" administered by the cabinet, and the "corporate account" controlled by the EDC.)

— publication of a code of ethics regarding employment and related practices of Canadian firms doing business in South Africa.

— correction of two historical anomalies in Canadian — South African relations resulting from prior South African Commonwealth status:

first, non-immigrant visas will be required by South African citizens visiting Canada; and

second, the preferential tariff accorded South Africa since 1933 might be renounced entirely.

In addition to these four measures, Jamieson also promised a re-examination of tax concessions given to Canadian companies operating in Namibia and which constitute tacit recognition of South Africa's illegal occupation of that country. This addition was obviously meant to strengthen Canadian credibility as a member of the five-nation U.N. Special Committee dealing with Namibia.

These announcements made front-page headlines throughout the world and were generally heralded as a new and decisive turning point that would encourage other Western nations to move closer toward an economic boycott of the South African regime. Anti-Apartheid organisations in Canada, having grown accustomed to government intransigence, cautiously supported Jamieson's announcements as a step in the right direction.



Pierre Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada

Over the next few months, it became evident that Ottawa's moves were a sham, a high profile public relations ploy designed to bolster the image of Canadian liberalism (e.g. anti-racism) abroad, deceive the Canadian people and distract attention from the truth about Canada's economic stake in Apartheid and its support for the status quo in Southern African politics.

Behind the Public Image

Of the many government departments that bear upon Canadian business and trade abroad, the Dept. of Industry, Trade and Commerce is one of the most important. Thus far, there has been no evidence that this Department has done anything to acknowledge or alter its activities to fall in line with Jamieson's announcements of November.

Industry, Trade and Commerce has two programmes of concern here. One is the Export Market Development Programme which subsidises Canadian business missions to acquire foreign markets. It will pay half the return fare, provide S 70.00 per day living expenses and cover 50 per cent of other costs of Canadian businessmen travelling to South Africa

other costs of Canadian businessmen during trips. Since 1971, Canada has paid a sum of S 142,074 to its businessmen travelling to South Africa to sell Canadian products. Despite Jamieson's announcements, South Africa has not been excluded from this practice.

The other programme is the one which relates directly to the new External Affairs policy. As publicly stated by Jamieson, it is the " government account " section of the EDC which is to be closed to South African business. The sheer hypocrisy of this disclosure is revealed when one realises that in the 15 years that this programme has been in existence, the " government account " has never been used in any case. Hence, to close it down now is of no significance, particularly when it is the " corporate account " which has always and continues to promote Canadian business with South Africa.

In 1976, the year of the Soweto massacres, the EDC financed two loans — one to ISCOR (the state owned South African iron and Steel Corporation) for the purchase of S 4.6 million worth of dump-trucks from General Motors of Canada. Another S 1.5 million was loaned to a South African company, Hulets Aluminium Ltd. (24% owned by Alcan Aluminium Ltd. of Montreal) for the purchase of Canadian aluminium rolling mill equipment produced by B & K Machinery International Ltd. By the end of 1977, the EDC had provided about S 9.1 million worth of insurance against non-payment for exports to South Africa.

Thus these two programmes alone make a mockery of Jamieson's claim of phasing out Canadian subsidiaries that would serve to increase the longevity of the Apartheid regime.

The withdrawal of the three trade commissioners from the Johannesburg and Cape Town office again seems like a progressive move. However, these commissioners are to be replaced by a South African commercial officer to do the same bidding for Canadian corporate interests. The cost of operating these offices was about S500,000 annually; the net affect of Jamieson's action will be to reduce this expense considerably without necessarily doing any economic damage to Canadian business interests.

Behind the rhetoric of anti-Apartheid ideology, the real economic significance of External Affairs' "revelations" can now be pieced together. The fact is that Canadian trade with South Africa is losing ground relative to other African nations. In 1977, Algeria replaced South Africa as Canada's major trading partner in Africa. Canadian imports from South Africa declined 7.1 per cent from 1976, while exports to South Africa dropped at twice that rate.

Furthermore, the moves might better be considered in the light of two interrelated facts: first, Canada hopes to greatly increase its economic dealings with other African nations, particularly those in the sub-continent. To do so in the future entails uttering the necessary political criticisms of Apartheid in the present, even if the critique falsely portrays the reality of Apartheid in

terms of racism only and not that of capitalist exploitation and imperialism.

Secondly, from a very pragmatic point of view, Canada stands to improve its overall balance of payments by reducing its unfavourable balance of payments with South Africa. As an editorial in the New African states: "Despite claims that Canada will be more affected by the measures than South Africa, a reduction of Canadian activities in the Republic would be more likely to improve Ottawa's trading position. In 1976, Canada exported goods to the value of S 98 m. — mainly motor parts, machinery, zinc and timber — while importing S 140m. of goods from South Africa — principally sugar, fresh fruit, canned goods, wool and base mineral ores. Most Canadian businessmen have interpreted the move mainly as a political gesture, and do not expect there to be much effect on bilateral trade." (February, 1978)

If, as Jamieson suggests, the preferential tariff were to be cancelled, the product most affected would be sugar. This commodity alone accounts for approximately two-thirds of South African imports to Canada, or about 40 per cent of all raw sugar entering Canada. Cancellation of the tariff would place a one-cent-a-pound tariff on sugar imports. However, Canadian sugar refineries have already made it clear that they would continue to import sugar from South Africa because of the reliability of sources. Increased costs to the refiners would be passed on directly to consumers in an economy already plagued by very high rates of inflation.

The product next most affected would be imported South African wines, annually worth S 800,000. Without the preference, tariffs would increase from present rates of 40 cents a gallon to more than 50 cents a gallon.

The hypocrisy is thus gradually exposed — Ottawa's sacrifices are few and the economic basis of the moves obscured. Deceit seems to have no limit when it comes to fuelling the Apartheid regime.

Economic Imperialism

The great deal of attention given to the

November statements by External Affairs has had the effect, intentionally or otherwise of diverting attention from the imperialist role of the Canadian private sector — the corporations and the chartered banks, representing industrial and finance capital respectively.

Even *The Guardian* (December 22, 1977) has seen through the facade of Canadian government overtures: "The withdrawal of Government sponsorship, through the Crown-owned Export Development Corporation, is not as all-embracing as first thought because EDC services to private corporations for private deals are still available. Since the overriding majority of business with South Africa is conducted in the private sector, there is little likelihood of any significant change."

Anti-Apartheid groups throughout Canada have documented the corporate and banking complicity, and for a branch-plant economy like that of Canada the list is quite impressive. Over thirty Canadian firms and all five major chartered banks are deeply embedded in the political economy of Apartheid.

Many of these corporations state that they have no intention of pulling out of South Africa or engaging in any form of economic action that would isolate the Apartheid regime. Further, they openly admit that the Apartheid laws preclude any qualitative change in their employment and related practices.

Some of these multinational corporations are:

Ford Motor Co. of Canada Ltd.; a subsidiary of Ford Motor Co. (US), has a wholly owned subsidiary in South Africa (4,700 workers) that makes trucks, cars and parts. The South African firm has S 170 million in assets and records annual sales of S 220 million.

Massey-Ferguson Ltd. employs 2,000 workers in South African subsidiaries with S 50 million in assets. Annual sales of agricultural and industrial equipment in South Africa total S 7.5 million.

Inco Ltd., an international mining

conglomerate, is active in South Africa through ESB-Rayovac subsidiary which has two battery manufacturing plants (285 workers) and annual sales of S 2 million. Only recently has Inco closed its mining subsidiary in South Africa. In Canada, 3,500 workers have been laid off in the last year as the company expands its operations in low wage Guatemala and Indonesia.

Noranda Mines Ltd. has recently closed its exploration subsidiary in South Africa but maintains its presence through another firm, **Canada Wire and Cable Co. Ltd.** This company has a 50 per cent interest in **Transwire Cables (Pty.) Ltd.**, employing 50 workers.

Cominco Ltd. (controlled by Canadian Pacific investments Ltd.) operates an exploration subsidiary, **Eland Exploration (Pty.) Ltd.** in South Africa.

Alcan Aluminium Ltd. owns 25 per cent of **Hulets, Aluminium Ltd.**, which employs 900 workers in an aluminium-fabricator plant; the Canadian company also owns 33 per cent of **Silicon Smelters (Pty.) Ltd.** whose 300 employees produce silicon needed in making aluminium alloys.

The Moore Corp., a business form retailer, owns several South African companies through the wholly owned British subsidiary, **Lamson Industries Ltd.**

Bata Ltd. employs 2,200 workers in its South African subsidiary producing five million pairs of shoes annually for a "modest profit."

Macleam-Hunter Ltd., a large Canadian publishing Corporation, owns 70 per cent of **Westbourne-Macleam-Hunter (Pty.) Ltd.** which employs 30 people and publishes half a dozen trade journals in South Africa.

The Canada Development Corporation (CDC), through **Conlab Holdings**, owns a South African company called **Dumex (Pty.) Ltd.** **Texas Gulf**, a mining multinational, and controlled by CDC, is undertaking chromium exploration in South Africa.

Other Canadian companies known to have investments in South African companies include Reed Shaw Osler Ltd. (Insurance), Brilund Mines, Dominion Textile Ltd. , International Harvester Ltd. , Laurasia Resources, Molson Co. Ltd. , Placer Development, the Thomson newspaper giant, and Scintrex.

Even better examples of Canadian complicity in Southern Africa are two major companies involved in illegally-occupied Namibia.

Falconbridge Nickel Mines Ltd. has a 75 per cent interest in a Namibian copper-silver mine 48 km south of Windhoek called Oamites Mining Co. (Pty.) Ltd. (450 employees). The multinational also controls a 25 per cent interest in South African platinum producer Western Platinum Ltd. (600 employees). Under the present agreement Falconbridge pays taxes on its Namibian operations directly to the Apartheid regime.

The Hudson's Bay Co. , that venerable Canadian institution notorious for its exploitation of indigenous peoples through the fur trade, is also a major distributor of karakul pelts worth S 70 million in consignment sales annually. The skins are converted into expensive SWAKARA (South West Africa Karakul) fur coats which retail for as much as S 8,000 in Canadian shops. Although the Bay denies any direct involvement in the production of these furs, this claim has been challenged by first-hand observers in Namibia.

In sum, Canadian Development Corp. president, Mr Anthony Hampson, speaks for all Canadian corporations in Southern Africa when he states, "...we have an apolitical (sic) attitude, basically we have no policy on Apartheid."

Another more sinister form of Canadian investment concerns loans given directly to the Apartheid regime, a regime which is desperately seeking new capital to finance its military and police-state operations against not only Blacks in South Africa but also the neighbouring states.

of finance capital in Canada, it is not surprising to find that all five major chartered banks have provided these loans. The Royal Bank, the Bank of Montreal, the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, the Toronto-Dominion Bank, and the Bank of Nova Scotia have all been involved in consortium loans during the past decade.

Although bank executives refuse to disclose the amounts of these loans, information derived from U.S. banks show that three Canadian banks lent a total of S 19.5 million to the Pretoria government and two of its para-statal agencies, in the 1970's — the Bank of Montreal (S7.5m.), the CIBC (S 6 m.) and the T-D Bank (S 6 m.). The Royal Bank lends to South Africa through its 20 per cent owned London-based Orion Bank Ltd. , in addition to possible direct loans. Many of the Canadian loans are channelled through large US banking consortia, which, according to a US senator, have an estimated S 2 billion in outstanding loans to South Africa by 1976.

Under pressure from anti-Apartheid groups, church and labour bodies, Canadian banks have claimed the right to maintain confidentially and to invest monies that belong to the Canadian people wherever the returns are the greatest. Only direct restrictions by the Canadian government, very likely indeed, will force these finance capitalists to stop aiding the economically-crippled South African regime.

South African Imperialism in Canada

A review of Canadian complicity with Apartheid would be incomplete without mention of two classic cases of South African imperialism in Canada.

In 1966, financed largely by the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Harry Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation penetrated the resource-rich Western provinces of Canada. One decade later, Oppenheimer-controlled subsidiaries, operating mainly through the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Co. Ltd. , manage S 600 million worth of Canadian assets; these corporations are located in all four Western provinces, the Yukon and the Northwest territories. Indigenous peoples



Anti-Apartheid demonstration

in Canada, struggling for historical land rights and self-determination, confront the same Oppenheimer and Falconbridge as do the African people in South Africa and Namibia.

Equally significant is the Rothmans empire in Canada. In addition to marketing its usual wide range of tobacco products, Rothmans of Pall Mall Canada Ltd. in the early 70's acquired controlling interest in Carling O'Keefe Ltd., one of the three major Canadian breweries. Consequently, in addition to the fact that Canadian people are in most cases unknowingly purchasing alcoholic beverages controlled by South African capital, the workers in these plants are compromised in their working class opposition to Apartheid. The strategy of South African imperialism to tie the political and economic hands of workers in other capitalist countries is a phenomenon which must continually be examined and struggled against.

Conclusions

Conclusions are relatively easy to draw. Canada, although itself a branch-plant political economy largely tied to American corporations, has developed very real and,

in some sectors, very substantial economic interests in South Africa. Government posturing, liberal declarations against racism, and occasional reference to a possible Canadian "peace-keeping" presence in Zimbabwe or Namibia — all of these, taken together, add up to the obvious fact that Canada places itself squarely on the side of reaction in the African sub-continent.

At the same time, anti-Apartheid groups across the country, church organisations and organised labour are making significant progress in educating Canadians about Apartheid and the complicity of their corporations, banks and government. As this work proceeds apace with the liberation struggles led by the African National Congress, SWAPO, and the Patriotic Front, the Canadian government will be less able to carry out the type of deceit and hypocrisy evidenced by the Minister of External Affairs last year. The international community must begin to realise that the liberalism of Canadian foreign policy is more mythology than fact — and there is no better place to start than in Southern Africa.

CIA IN AFRICA

Stockwell, John

In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story, New York, 1978.

A number of books on the activities of the CIA has been published. The most recent is Stockwell's.

Stockwell joined the CIA in 1964, served in some African countries (Lubumbashi, Bujumbura, Abidjan and was chief of the Kenya-Uganda section) before he was part of the shameful CIA performance in Vietnam. He grew up in the Kasai Province of the Belgian Congo (now Zaire) and speaks English, French, Tshiluba and some Swahili. These "qualifications" and experience explain why he was appointed Chief of the CIA Angola Task Force just before Angola became independent.

His task was not an easy one: he had to organise all the forces he could against the MPLA and its supporters especially the Soviet Union and Cuba. Money was sent to FNLA and UNITA: on January 26, 1975 the 40 Committee approved 300,000 dollars for Roberto and in July a 14 million dollar paramilitary programme to support FNLA and UNITA against MPLA. Arms were delivered to these "movements" via Kinshasa.

In October 1975 the racist South African armoured column joined the UNITA forces and this strengthened the collaboration between racist South Africa and the CIA. As an example of this Stockwell writes:

"To the CIA, the South Africans (meaning the racists — F.M.) were the ideal solution for central Angola...Especially in the field, CIA officers liked the South Africans, who tended to be bluff, aggressive men without guile..."

On October 20, after a flurry of cables between headquarters and Kinshasa two South African C-130 airplanes, similar to

those used by the Israelis in their raid on Entebbe, feathered into Ndjibi Airport at night to meet a CIA C-141 flight and whisk its load of arms down to Silva-Porto. CIA officers and BOSS representatives met the planes at Ndjibi and jointly supervised the transloading. At the same time St. Martin requested and received headquarters permission to meet BOSS representatives on a regular basis in Kinshasa. Other CIA officers clamoured for permission to visit South African bases in South West Africa. On two occasions the BOSS director visited Washington and held secret meetings with Jim Potts. On another, he met with the CIA station chief in Paris... nearly all CIA intelligence reports on the subject were relayed to South Africa...

"The CIA has traditionally sympathised with South Africa and enjoyed its close liason with BOSS."

The two organisations are violently anti-communist and anti-African; they recruit mercenaries into the continent; organise plots, coups and assassinations; spread lies and rumours throughout Africa and gather information from all sources so as to prepare an attack on genuine, patriotic movements.

These and many other revelations are made in Stockwell's book. He accuses the West, especially the CIA and mercenaries of trying to prevent the MPLA from coming to power or, if they fail in that, of plotting to overthrow Dr. Neto's government. It should be remembered that over 100 of CIA people were involved in the "Angola Programme" and the CIA has 40 stations and bases in Africa.

In 1977 Stockwell resigned from the CIA. The CIA failures and blunders in Vietnam and Angola and his gradual realisation of the sinister role of the CIA were



some of the reasons. But he fails to see the CIA as a direct product of U.S. imperialism.

To those of us who are fighting for national liberation and self-determination the word "CIA" evokes nasty memories about its activities on the African continent. We are reminded of the deaths of Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkumah, Eduardo Mondlane, Amilcar Cabral and others. What about the present and future involvement of the CIA in the confrontation in Southern Africa?

This book, with all its shortcomings, will open the eyes of African revolutionaries to the manoeuvres, tactics and failures of the CIA. The CIA is not in a position to corrupt the genuine leaders of the liberation movements nor is it able to gauge the

extent of popularity of mass movements: their strength and contact with the popular masses. It is an elitist organisation using unpopular methods. Its defeat is inevitable.

F.M.

Alex La Guma has been appointed ANC Chief Representative in Havana, Cuba and Tony Mongalo Chief Representative in Berlin, GDR (and not in the USA as we reported previously).

Thami Sindelo is the Chief Representative in Rome, Italy.

MILITANT BEAUTY

Fragility and flimsy womanhood
flowers on their birthdays
luxurious appartments and flashy cars
have never been their aspiration.

Distorted women's lib
refusing to mother kids
and provide family comfort
harassing a tired enslaved dad
have never been their deeds.

Attending to the needs
how meagre they might be
slaving for their well being
pretending abuses don't mean a thing
her only aspiration
keeping candle light burning.

Hardened by oppressive regime
they refuse to weep
even at death of innocents
who continue age-old fight for justice
their only aspiration liberty.

Standing defiantly
in face of brutality
resulting of corrupt illegal minority.

Flowering in natural beauty
through progressive ideology
they overcame imposed passivity
and became essence of militancy

Their beauty not their criteria
but justice for all humanity.

MANDELA

This poem, written in Xhosa, is about Nelson Mandela, hero of our people who is languishing on Robben Island.

Siyabhotisa mfoka ka Rolihlahla Mandela,
Qhawe Lamaqhawe
Qabane elancama ubomi balo
Ngenxa yengcinezelo.

Namhla ugqibe iminyaka
engamashumi amathandathu
usidla amazimba
uwadlela engxingweni
Naphantsi kwengxwaleko
Ngenxa yenyano.

Wona amabhulu athi
Awugawule umthi
Kodwa zona ingcambu zasalela.

Koko thina bantwana bephiko lika KONGOLES
Sithi ezongcambu zasalayo zihlumile
zokukhulula I AFRIKA
Uhlale ujonge enkalweni !
Nezongcango zesiqithi zokuvuleka
Nje ngompu siyakuvulela
Kuzo zone imbobo zomhlaba
Sesihamba naye umfo KA TAMBO.

Agnes Dikeledi

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